

GATEWAYS TO HISTORY

Book VI.

The Pageant of the Empires

"Let us now praise famous men"

LONDON

EDWARD ARNOLD

41 & 43 MADDOX STREET, BOND STREET, W.

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In this concluding volume of the series the author has attempted the difficult task of writing a primer of world-history which will give without confusion some general idea of the march of civilization westward from the cradle of the human race. At the same time he has kept steadily in view the fact that he is writing for boys and girls, and has endeavoured to avoid the baldness of a "general sketch." This has been done by omitting many things which some teachers may consider essential, and, in the earlier part of the book, by making use of the legend and the historical story, in order to fix the characteristics of some great man or movement in the mind of the pupil.

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A PRINCE OF
ANCIENT EGYPT.

GATEWAYS TO HISTORY.

BOOK VI.

PART I.—THE WORLD-EMPIRES OF THE OLDEN DAYS.

CHAPTER I.—THE GREAT KING'S DREAM.

EVERY boy and girl has heard or read the Bible story of Daniel in the den of lions. Daniel was a young Hebrew who, about six hundred years before the Birth of Christ, was taken as a captive to the Court of King Nebuchadnezzar at the city of Babylon. He obtained great influence over the King chiefly because of his skill as an interpreter of dreams, which were believed at that time to foreshadow future events.

One night the great King dreamed a dream, and when he awoke called for his magicians to tell him the meaning of it. They were, of course, quite ready to do so if their royal master would deign to tell them what was the substance of the dream.

But Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten the dream. Now, then, asked the magicians, with a good deal of

reason, could they tell him the meaning of it? That was, however, not the kind of question to address to the despot. Let them tell *him* the dream, he said, as well as its meaning, or let them die the death.

“There is not a man upon the earth,” said the magicians, “that can show the King’s matter.” Then Nebuchadnezzar was very angry, and ordered his servants to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. Among them, however, though not present at the moment, was Daniel, the young Hebrew captive, who on the following day said he was ready, not only to recount the dream itself, but to give the interpretation of it. So he was taken with all haste to the King, and said :

“Thou, O King, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible. This image’s head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.

“Thou sawest till a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, and no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

“This is the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the King.

“Thou, O King, art a King of Kings : for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath He given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. *Thou art this head of gold.*

“And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall be as strong as iron ; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things : and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise.

“And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided ; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken.

“And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men ; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. And in the days of these Kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed : and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.

“Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut

out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold, the great God hath made known to the King what shall come to pass hereafter : and the dream is certain and the interpretation thereof sure.”

Now, Nebuchadnezzar was at the head of a great kingdom, with Babylon as its capital, and the golden head of the image stands for the empire over which he bore rule. After a time it yielded its pride of place to another powerful kingdom, that of the Persians, which may be said to be represented in the image by the breast and arms of silver.

After the Persians the Greeks rose to the chief power in the East, which has been called the “ cradle of the nations ”; and their empire is represented by the body and thighs of brass. Then in the fulness of time Greece was conquered by the Romans, whose empire is figured by the feet of iron and clay.

These were the four great “ world-empires ” of early history—Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome—and they followed each other in this order. Each stood at the head of the civilized world of its time, and each made an attempt to subdue all “ people, nations, and languages,” and to rule the world from one centre. How they set about this work, and what measure of success each attained, is the subject of the first part of this book.

In the later portion we are going to trace the rise of certain other powerful empires which attained to greatness after the fall of Rome, and to bring the story of Empire down to our own times.

The "head of gold" in the vision of the great King stood, as we have seen, for the empire of which the city of Babylon was the centre, and this seems at first sight to give us a good starting-point for our story. But before dealing with the kingdom of Babylonia, we shall look still farther back down the long vista of history, and learn a little about an interesting nation and a kingdom of a still earlier time. This was the ancient kingdom of Egypt, the land of the Pharaohs, in the Valley of the Nile.

CHAPTER II.—THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.

THE story of Joseph is one of the most touching and interesting in our early Bible history. We remember how the dreams of the boy roused the anger of his brothers, as well as the fact that Joseph was his father's favourite, and how they made up their minds to humble what they thought was his pride. In reading this familiar story, we ought to remember that it gives us a picture of shepherd life in Palestine several centuries before Christ was born in Bethlehem, and that it connects us with the history of the earliest civilized nation of the world.

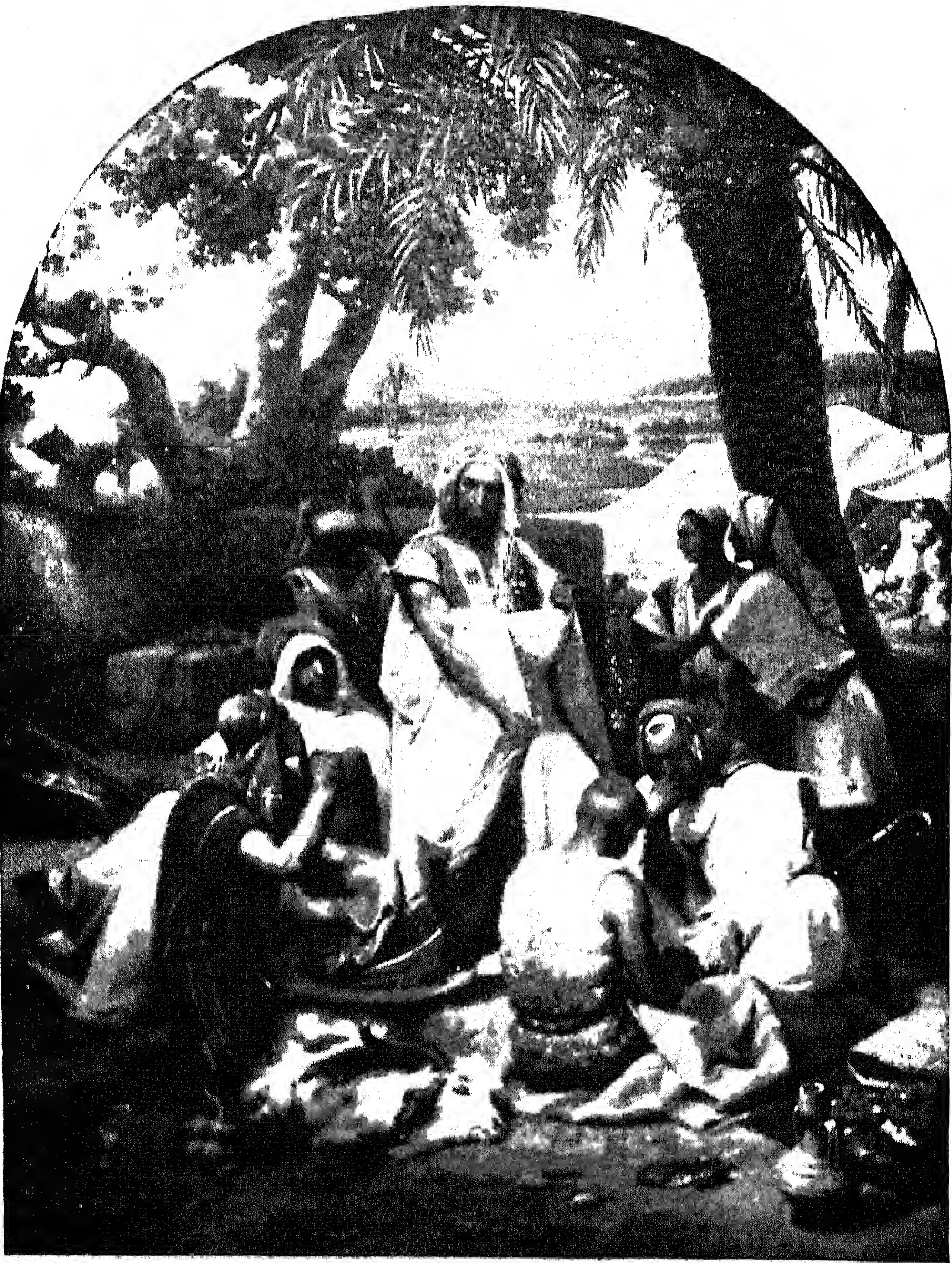
You may remember how the boy Joseph went to find his brethren in the fields where they were following their usual industry, that of tending their flocks.

"And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them they conspired against him to

slay him. And they said one to another, Behold this dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him; and we shall see what will become of his dreams. And Reuben heard it; and he delivered him out of their hands, and said, Let us not kill him. And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, but cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again.

“And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph out of his coat, his coat of many colours that was on him; and they took him, and cast him into a pit; and the pit was empty, there was no water in it. And they sat down to eat bread; and they lifted up their eyes and looked and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt. And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood? Come and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother and our flesh. And his brethren were content.

“Then there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver; and they brought Joseph into Egypt. . . . And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard.”



JOSEPH'S COAT.

(From Horace Vernet's picture in the Wallace Gallery.)

It was the great and powerful land of Egypt, then, to which the companies of merchantmen were wending their way. The kingdom of the Pharaohs, as the monarchs of Egypt were called, is the earliest of the great empires of which we read in history. It lay in the fertile Valley of the Nile in the north-east of Africa, and its royal line is said to date back to no less than four thousand years before the birth of Christ. Even at a very early time the people of Egypt had reached a high degree of civilization, and we can to-day judge of their ability as craftsmen and builders from a visit to the Pyramids at Ghizeh, and to the temples and monuments of Karnak, Thebes, and other places in the Nile Valley.

When Napoleon, the great French conqueror, led his forces into Egypt, he said in one of those spirited addresses with which he roused them to enthusiasm: "Soldiers, forty centuries look down upon you from the top of the Pyramids." In these wonderful buildings we have, indeed, what a well-known traveller calls "the earliest field of man's labours." Here may be seen the very beginning of architecture, the most enormous piles of building ever raised, the most careful constructions known, the finest masonry, and evidence of the employment of the most ingenious tools.

The Pyramids of Ghizeh are three in number. The largest, known as the "Great Pyramid," is the "most prodigious of all human constructions." It stands on a square base with a side of seven hundred and sixty feet. Originally its height must have been about a

hundred and twenty feet above that of St. Paul's. The stone used in its construction would build a town of considerable size, and the blocks were brought from a distance of five hundred miles. It is estimated that the erection of this huge pile would require the labour of a hundred thousand men for twenty years. Some of the stones are forty feet in length, and each must weigh at least fifty tons.

In the Great Pyramid there are three internal chambers. One lies deep in the rock below the level of the base, directly under the apex of the pile, and is reached by a long passage opening on the north side of the Pyramid. In the interior are two other chambers, known as "the King's" and "the Queen's" respectively.

The Pyramids appear to have been raised to provide at once sepulchres and lasting monuments for the Kings of Egypt. In one chamber a tomb containing a coffin was found, and upon it was an inscription showing that it had once held the body of a King. The desire of the Pharaohs was for immortality. Hence their bodies were embalmed and laid in sepulchres built to last while the world should endure.

Near the great Pyramids of Ghizeh is the still more wonderful stone figure of the Sphynx, with the head and shoulders of a man and the body of a couchant lion. Between its outstretched fore-feet stands a chapel, while behind it is a small temple. Within its body there are the beginnings of passages which connect it with the second of the great Pyramids.

Many and various have been the guesses and explana-

tions as to the purpose and use of this mysterious monument which the Arabs of the desert have, fitly enough, named "the father of terror." Many think that it was set up as a kind of guardian of the royal tombs. "There is something stupendous," writes a famous traveller, "in the sight of that enormous head, with its vast projecting wig, its great ears, its open eyes, the red colour still visible on its cheeks, the immense projection of the whole lower part of its face.

"Yet what must it have been when on its head there was the royal helmet of Egypt; on its chin the royal beard; when the stone pavement by which men approached the Pyramids ran up between its paws; when immediately under its breast an altar stood, from which the smoke went up into the gigantic nostrils of that nose, now vanished from the face, never to be conceived again!"

The Pyramids and the Sphynx belong to the earliest period of the history of Egypt; and the largest of the former is said to have been built by a monarch whom some writers call Khufu, and others Cheops. Not much is known of the Pharaohs of his line, which was ended by an invasion of certain nomadic tribes from Syria and Arabia. These people set up a new royal line, known in history as that of the Shepherd Kings who ruled the land for some five hundred years.

It is said that it was under the last of these Shepherd Kings that the Hebrew lad Joseph was carried into Egypt and became a servant in the house of Potiphar, "the captain of the guard." The account of his life at the Court of Pharaoh and of his prudent manage-

ment of the corn-stores in the years of famine may be read in the Book of Genesis, chapters 41 and 42. The story gives us a good deal of insight into the ways of living and the methods of government of the people of Ancient Egypt. Whether the capital in which Joseph served Pharaoh was Memphis or Thebes we cannot tell with certainty.

When the last of the Shepherd Kings had passed away, there arose a new line of Egyptian monarchs under whom the land attained to its greatest glory. Up to this time the Kings of Egypt had not tried to make conquests beyond their own borders except for a few raids made upon the negro races who lived to the south of their land. But they now began a career of conquest which brought them great glory, so far as warlike renown is concerned, but which also led in due time to the downfall of the nation.

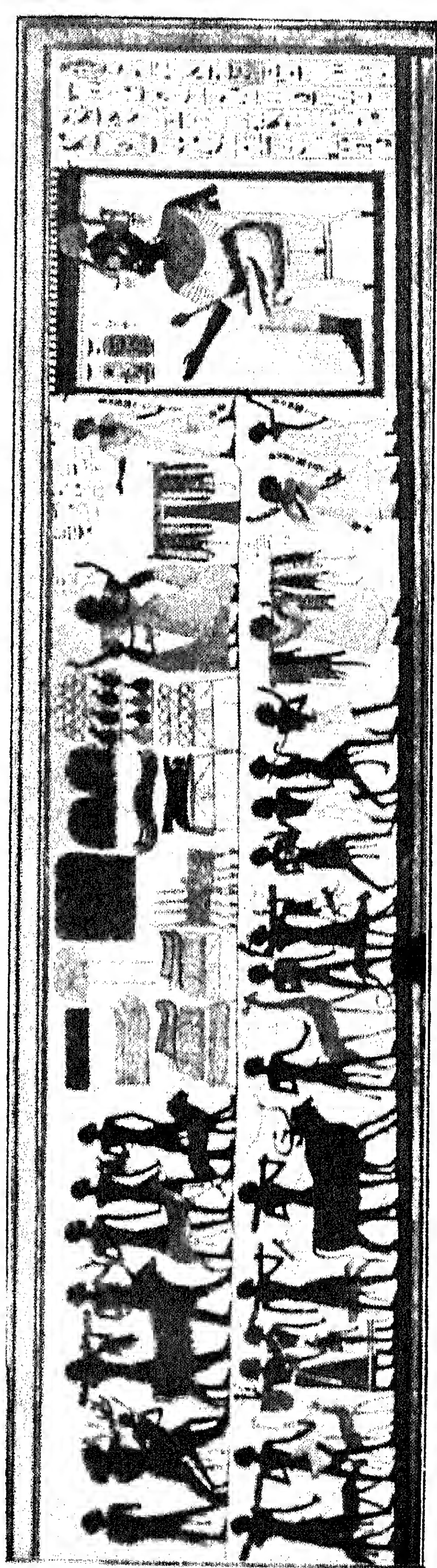
Under the Pharaoh Thotmes I. the Egyptians turned their attention to the lands which lay beyond the rocky peninsula of Sinai at the head of the Red Sea. Beyond that desert region lived various tribes, mostly of Arab race. Prominent among them were the Phœnicians, who had founded the cities of Tyre and Sidon on the coast of the land we now call Syria. These people were famous as merchants and sailors. They had not only explored the whole of the Mediterranean, but had even ventured—a daring feat—beyond the narrow strait—a passage now known to us as the Straits of Gibraltar. To the east of the lands held by these tribes lay the Kingdom of Assyria in the neighbourhood of the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris.

The Egyptian monarch led his forces into Palestine and Syria, and as far east as the Euphrates. Near this river he fought a great battle. "His Majesty," we read in the old records, "met the enemy and drew up his men. He made a great slaughter of them; a great number of live captives were carried off by His Majesty." This is not very exact information, nor did the King make any lasting conquests. But he was the first to lead the way to the land where great conquests were afterwards to be made, and from whence were at last to come the conquerors of the Egyptians themselves.

The third Pharaoh who bore the name of Thotmes marched an army into Syria and won a great victory, taking from his enemies large stores of silver and gold, precious stones and alabaster, as well as a whole army of prisoners. This success fired him with the ambition of conquering the world, or at least that part of it which was known to him, and especially the land between the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, known as Mesopotamia. There dwelt the King of Assyria, the mighty monarch of whom he had heard, and whose might he had a great desire to humble.

So he marched into Mesopotamia, the "land between the rivers," and reduced to a level plain the strong places of the ill-fated land, though he did not actually take any of the territory belonging to the Assyrian King. The latter, however, sent him presents, and the Egyptian King looked upon these as tribute, and called himself the conqueror of the Kings of Assyria.

Not only on land did this great monarch extend his



(1) THE CONQUEST OF THE NATIVES OF CENTRAL AFRICA BY RAMESES II. OF EGYPT, AND (2) THE RECEPTION BY THE KING, SEATED IN STATE, OF TRIBUTE FROM THE CONQUERED TRIBES.

power. He built a fleet of vessels, propelled by oar and sail, and made attacks by sea on Syria and Phœnicia. On the walls of the great temple of Karnak there is inscribed a song of victory, supposed to be sung by the god of war, and addressed to the Egyptian conqueror. One of the stanzas runs :

“ I came, and thou smotest the land of the West ;
Phœnicia and Cyprus held thee in fear ;
I made them look upon thy majesty as a young bull,
Courageous, with sharp horns, which none can approach.”

Like many other Kings of Egypt, Thotmes III. was a builder, using his numerous prisoners of war to build great temples and obelisks at Karnak, Heliopolis, and other cities.

After some time the Egyptian monarchs began to grow careless of their conquests in the lands to the east of the Levant ; and the race known as the Hittites set up a kingdom in those lands and dared the Pharaohs of Egypt to drive them out. War began. The Egyptian King, Seti, marched to the north-east with men “ on foot, on horseback, and in chariots,” and won a great and decisive victory.

“ Pharaoh is a jackal,” sang the victors after one battle. “ He rushes leaping through the Hittite land ; he is a grim lion exploring the hidden ways of all regions ; he is a powerful bull, with a pair of sharpened horns. He has struck down the tribes of Asia ; he has thrown them to the ground ; he has slain their Princes ; he has overwhelmed them in their own blood ; he has passed among them as a flame of fire ; he has brought them to naught.”

The war went on, however, when Rameses II. came to the throne of the Pharaohs. In a great battle with the Hittites the King found himself cut off in his chariot from the rest of his force, and then there began a combat which was afterwards celebrated in the heroic songs of Egypt :

“ I became like unto the god of war,” the King is made to say ; “ I hurled the dart with my right hand, I fought with my left ; I was like Baal in his fury against them. I had come upon a host of horses. I was in the midst of them ; but they were dashed in pieces before my steeds. Not one of them raised his hand to fight ; their hearts shrank within them ; their limbs gave way ; they could not hurl the dart, nor had they strength to thrust with the spear. As crocodiles fall into the water, so I made them fall ; they tumbled headlong over one another. I killed them at my pleasure, so that not one of them looked back behind him, nor did any turn round. Each fell, and none raised himself up again.”

This great fight lasted for two days, and the armies of Egypt won the victory. But Rameses did not effectually subdue the Hittites, and not long after the time celebrated in the above boastful song the power of Egypt in Asia began to decline. It was under this Pharaoh, it is said, that the Hebrews in Egypt suffered the oppression of which we read in the Book of Exodus. The Egyptians, we are told, “ made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.”

This harsh treatment went on under the next

Pharaoh, and for the story of his dealings with Moses and of the "exodus" of the children of Israel we must turn to our Bibles. It is interesting to note that from this time of tyranny and oppression we can trace the decline and gradual fall of Egypt from her place of power. In due time, as we shall see later, the land became subject to Kings from Mesopotamia, where in past time the armies of the Pharaohs had "made the cities into a plain."

The Egyptians were a learned race, and used a kind of picture-writing, which we call "hieroglyphics," and from which we can learn a great part of their history. They were also a very religious people, and paid reverent worship to numerous gods, the chief of whom was Ra, the god of the sun, who was claimed to have been the ancestor of the royal line of the Pharaohs. Of the rest of the company of gods and goddesses the three most prominent were Osiris, his consort Isis, and their son Horus. The chief legend of Osiris is as follows :

Once upon a time the gods grew weary of ruling in heaven, and resolved to reign in turns over Egypt in the likeness of men. After four of them had been Kings in succession, Osiris, the son of Seb and Nut, took the throne, and became monarch of the two regions, Upper and Lower Egypt.

Osiris was of a good and bountiful nature, beneficent in will and words ; he set himself to civilize the Egyptians, taught them to till the fields and cultivate the vine, gave them law and religion, and instructed them in building and sculpture.

Unfortunately, he had a wicked brother, called Set, who hated him for his goodness, and resolved to bring about his death. This he did after awhile, and having placed the body in a coffin, he threw it into the Nile, whence it floated down to the sea.

Isis, the widow of Osiris, together with her sister Nephthys, vainly sought for a long time the body of her lord, and at last found it on the Syrian shore, where it had been cast up by the waves. She was conveying it for embalmment and burial to Memphis, when Set stole it from her, and cut it up into fourteen pieces, which he concealed in various places.

The unhappy Queen then set forth in a light boat made of the papyrus plant, and searched Egypt from end to end, until she had found all the fragments, when she buried them with due honour. She then called on her son Horus to avenge his father, and Horus engaged in a long war, wherein he was at last victorious, and took Set prisoner.

Isis now relented, and released Set. This so enraged Horus that he tore off her crown, or, according to some versions of the legend, struck off her head, which injury the gods repaired by giving her a cow's head in place of her own. Horus then renewed the war with his uncle, and finally slew him with a long spear, which he drove into his head.

Horus, the victor and conqueror of the Evil Being, thus became the leader of the gods, and seems to have been identified also with the sun-god. And when the courtiers wished to show their respect for Pharaoh, they called him "son of the Sun" and "the living

Horus.” “Thou art like the Sun in all that thou doest,” cries one; “thy heart realizes all its wishes; shouldst thou wish to make it day during the night, it is day forthwith. If thou sayest to the water, ‘Come from the rock,’ it will come in a torrent suddenly at the words of thy mouth. All thy words are accomplished daily.” This abject flattery reminds us of the story of Canute and his courtiers in our own history.

We shall meet now and again with Egypt in following the fortunes of other great nations of the earth. In the last part of this book we are to deal with the great world-empire of which the British Isles is the head; and we shall there remind ourselves of our own close connection with the land of the Pharaohs, and the relationship between that land and our own.

CHAPTER III.—THE ASSYRIAN KINGDOM.

WE have already spoken of the kingdom of Assyria, which lay about the upper courses of the twin rivers Euphrates and Tigris. The capital of this kingdom was the city of Nineveh. To the south lay the State of Babylonia, so called after its royal city Babylon, on the Lower Euphrates. These two kingdoms had a great deal to do with each other during the course of their history, as we shall see.

To the west of these powerful States lived various tribes. Prominent among these were the Hittites, of whom we have already spoken. On the Mediterranean

coast were the powerful Phœnician cities of Tyre and Sidon. And between the Jordan River and the coast lay the kingdom established by the Hebrews after their exodus from Egypt, the land ruled by Saul and David and Solomon, with whose story we are familiar from our Bible readings. This kingdom reached its greatest height under Solomon, who built the famous Temple of Jerusalem, but when he died its glory was departed ; and the later history of the Hebrew State is one of gradual decline until, at last it became the prey of the monarchs of Assyria.

In the time of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, the Hebrew kingdom was divided into a northern and a southern portion. The former had its capital at Samaria, and was known as the kingdom of Israel. The latter was the kingdom of Judah, with its centre at the city of Jerusalem. About seven hundred years before the birth of Christ there arose a powerful King of Assyria, named Sargon, in whose royal records we find the following entry :

“ In the beginning of my reign I besieged, I took by the help of the god who giveth me victory over my enemies, the city of Samaria. Its people I carried away. I took fifty chariots for my own royal share. I took the captives to Assyria, and put into their places people whom my hand had conquered. I set my officers and governors over them, and laid a tribute upon them.”

In this manner part of the prophecy of the Hebrew poet Isaiah was fulfilled : “ Ah, the uproar of many peoples, which roar like the roaring of the seas ! And

the rushing of nations that rush like the rushing of many waters! Behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the King of Assyria and all his glory; and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks; *and he shall sweep onward into Judah*; he shall overflow and pass through; he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of the land." The Assyrians were indeed in due time to "sweep onward into Judah," but that was to be under a later King.

The land of Babylonia was supposed at this time to be tributary to Assyria. But there arose a powerful chieftain of that land, who got himself crowned King at Babylon. There he reigned in quiet for a number of years, the King of Assyria being engaged at the time in a war with Egypt, and later with certain tribes to the north of his kingdom.

The King of Babylon wished to find an ally who would stand side by side with him when Sargon should be ready to seek revenge. He fixed upon Hezekiah, the King of Judah, who, as we read in our Bibles, "had exceeding much riches and honour; and he provided him treasuries for silver, and for gold, and for precious stones, and for spices, and for shields, and for all manner of goodly vessels; storehouses also for the increase of corn and oil, and stalls for all manner of beasts and flocks in folds. Moreover, he provided him cities and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance, for God had given him very much substance."

Such a wealthy ally was very desirable. Hezekiah



THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

(From the painting by Fra Bartolomeo. Photo, Anderson.)

had been sick, and had recovered in a manner which seemed to be little short of miraculous. This gave the wily King of Babylon an excuse for sending an embassy to the monarch in Jerusalem, bearing a present.

“And Hezekiah,” we read in the Hebrew Book of Kings,* “hearkened unto them, and shewed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not.

“Then came Isaiah the prophet unto King Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men, and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country, even from Babylon. And Isaiah said, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All the things that are in mine house have they seen; there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them.

“And Isaiah said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of the Lord, Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried into Babylon; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.” How this prophecy was fulfilled we shall see later.

As soon as Sargon was ready he opened the campaign with the King of Babylon. He made out that he came as a deliverer of the people of the great city from the oppression of a usurper, and in this way he

* 2 Kings xx. 13-17.

made his work very easy indeed. The King left Babylon "in the night-time like an owl," and a number of the leading men came to meet Sargon to ask him to take possession of the city. This he did at once, and then marched out to find the fugitive King, who had taken refuge in a city by the sea.

"Then," says the old record, "this usurping King, knowing his own weakness, was filled with fear; the terror of the Great King's royalty overwhelmed him; he forsook his sceptre and his throne; in the presence of the King's messenger he kissed the earth; he gave up his castles and fled, and his trace was no more seen on the earth." His city was razed to the ground.

Having overcome all his enemies, Sargon set about the work of building. He set up a new capital, and a royal palace of great splendour, "of ivory, of the wood of the palm, the cedar, the cypress." He raised temples to the great gods of his nation. He enclosed his city in high walls, in which were set gates guarded by the winged bulls of the Assyrians. Then he called down the blessings of the great god Asshur upon his royal capital.

"May Asshur bless this city and this palace! May he endow these buildings with eternal brightness! *May he grant that they shall be inhabited till the end of the days!* May the carven bull, the guardian spirit, stand for ever before his face! May he keep watch here by night and day, and may his feet never move from this threshold!"

Then, when his city was finished, Sargon gave it a ready-made population. His method was simple and

characteristic. "People from the four quarters of the world, of foreign speech, of divers tongues, who had dwelt in mountains and valleys, whom I, by the might of my arms, had made captive, I commanded to speak the language of Assyria, and settled them therein. Sons of Asshur, of wise insight in all things, I placed over them to watch for me; learned men and scribes to teach them the fear of Heaven and the King."

Only about a year after his city had been solemnly dedicated to his gods Sargon fell by the hand of an assassin. He was followed on the throne by his son Sennacherib. The new King engaged in several successful campaigns, when he heard that the King of Egypt was about to march into Palestine and unite with Hezekiah against him.

So he gathered his armies, and in the rapid manner for which the Assyrians were famous, he swept down to the sea-coast before the allies could unite. The "fenced cities" of Judah fell one by one into his hands, and at last Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem, "like a bird in a cage." The King of Judah thereupon sent to Sennacherib, saying, "I have offended. Return from me. That which thou puttest upon me I will bear." And a heavy fine was "put upon" the King, which he was only too glad to pay.

Not satisfied with this, the Assyrian King sent messengers to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. Of these the spokesman was a certain royal officer, Rabshakeh, and they came, and having called "to the King," were met by three officers of Hezekiah's household. To these Rabshakeh addresses himself.



AN ASSYRIAN KING IN HIS CHARIOT HUNTING THE LION.

(From a sculptured slab in the British Museum.)

“Speak ye now to Hezekiah. Thus saith the great King, the King of Assyria. What confidence is this wherein thou trustest? Thou sayest, I have counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me?”

“Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of the bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so I will pierce the Pharaoh King of Egypt unto all that trust on him. . . . How wilt thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master’s servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?”

Then the three royal officers begged the messenger to speak in his own language, so that his words, so disrespectful of their King, might not be understood by the people upon the walls. This was Rabshakeh’s opportunity. In the “Jews’” language he addressed the people:

“Hear the word of the great King, the King of Assyria: Thus saith the King, Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand. Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying, The Lord will surely deliver us, and this city shall not be delivered into the hands of the King of Assyria.

“Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the King of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern: until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land

of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil, olives, and of honey, that ye may live and not die; and hearken not unto Hezekiah when he persuadeth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us.

“Hath any of the gods of the nations, delivered at all his land out of the hand of the King of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? Have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand? Who are they among all the gods of the countries that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?”

But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word; for the King's commandment was, saying, Answer him not.”

Then a letter from the Assyrian King was sent to Hezekiah, containing the substance of the speech of Rabshakeh. “And Hezekiah,” we read, “received the letter of the hand of the messengers, and read it; and Hezekiah went up into the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord. And Hezekiah prayed before the Lord, and said, O Lord God of Israel, which dwellest between the cherubims, Thou art the God, even Thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; Thou hast made heaven and earth.

“Lord, bow down Thine ear, and hear; open, Lord, Thine eyes, and see; and hear the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent him to reproach the living God. Of a truth, Lord, the Kings of Assyria have destroyed the nations and their lands, and have cast their gods into the fire; for they were no gods,

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“ Now therefore, O Lord our God, I beseech Thee save Thou us out of his hand, that all the kingdom of the earth may know that Thou art the Lord God even Thou only.”

What happened next may well have been regarded by the people of Jerusalem as a direct answer to the prayer of their King. A deadly plague broke out among the Assyrians encamped before the city, and in a few hours killed so many of them that the rest beat a hasty retreat. Lord Byron tells the story :

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold ;
And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea,
When the blue waves roll nightly on deep Galilee.

Like the leaves of the forest when summer is green,
That host, with their banners, at sunset was seen ;
Like the leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay withered and strown.

For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he passed,
And the eyes of the sleepers waxed deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved and forever grew still.

And there lay the steed with his nostrils all wide,
But through them there rolled not the breath of his pride
And the foam of his gasping lay white on the turf,
And cold as the spray of the rock-beating surf.

And there lay the rider distorted and pale,
With the dew on his brow, and the rust on his mail ;
And the tents were all silent, the banners alone,
The lances uplifted, the trumpets unblown.

And the widows of Asshur are loud in their wail,
And the idols are broke in the temple of Baal;
And the might of the Gentile, unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord.

One of the last events in Sennacherib's career of war was his second invasion of the rebellious Babylonia and the destruction he wrought on its capital city. He turned his soldiers loose in the place, giving them leave to take what they could and destroy what they were not able to carry away. Then the buildings were dug up and fired, the gods of the temples were removed, and canals were made through the city, or, to use the language of the conqueror, he "covered the place with water, so that no one may be able to find the site."

Yet the great city was destined to recover even from this severity, and to see the decline of her proud adversary. The power of Assyria after the days of Sennacherib gradually grew less and less. It was pressed on the north side by the powerful tribe of the Medes, of whom we shall read in our next chapter, and there arose a King in Babylon named Nebuchadnezzar, under whom the prediction of Isaiah with regard to Jerusalem was at last fulfilled.

Yet in the last years of her power the Assyrian Kings made great conquests. In the reign of the next King after Sennacherib an Assyrian army marched into Egypt and brought that country under the rule of Sennacherib. The next King, Assurbanipal, was also a great conqueror as well as a lover of the fine arts. At a later date the Greeks made this King out to have

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been the essence of all that was weak and unmanly. Their stories represented him as a luxurious monarch who spent his time in feasting and revelry. Then when the fall of his kingdom was near, he roused himself, and for two years led his people against their enemies, and played the part of a hero. But the crisis could not be averted, and at last the King had a great funeral pyre erected, on which he burned himself, his wives, and all his treasures.

This is a mere legend ; but the fact remains that the power of Assyria had come to an end. The capital city, Nineveh, was destroyed, and out of the ruins of the great empire Babylon rose for a short time to greatness. Under King Nebuchadnezzar her armies marched westward and laid siege to Jerusalem, then under the monarch Zedekiah, who had conspired against the King of Babylon along with the subject monarch of Egypt.

The great siege began in the year 589 B.C. King Zedekiah was filled with dismay, and sent to the prophet Jeremiah to ask for his prayers. But the prophet's answer gave him no hope. "The Chaldeans shall fight against this city," he said, "and burn it with fire." But there was a future hope. Someday the people of the Lord would return to Zion after much tribulation ; and as a sign of his faith in that "far-off divine event," the prophet purchased a field in his native village.

The King of Egypt now came to the help of Judah and took the city of Gaza. Nebuchadnezzar marched against him, and is said by one historian to have



THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.
(From the statue by Michael Angelo.)

defeated him, though it is also reported that Pharaoh retired without a battle. The people of Jerusalem, on the departure of the King of Babylon, took heart once more, but before long the forces of Nebuchadnezzar again encamped without the walls of the city. "Is there any word from the Lord?" asked the King of Judah of Jeremiah. "There is," was the reply "Thou shalt be delivered into the hand of the King of Babylon."

The siege went on for two and a half years, and the city was reduced to the verge of starvation. Then the enemy made a breach in the city wall, and soon the officers of Nebuchadnezzar had taken up their station in the court of the Temple as a sign that the city was at last captured. Zedekiah took to flight but was taken. His eyes were put out, and he was sent to Babylon, where he spent the rest of his days as a prisoner. The city and Temple were now sacked, and then set on fire. Last of all, the walls were levelled with the ground. Most of the inhabitants were carried away into captivity, and among them was the young man Daniel, of whom we read in our first chapter.

So the great city of David and Solomon, "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth," became a byword and a mockery. And far away in the Babylonian land the Jewish captives mourned in exile for the loss of their beloved city. There is no more pathetic song than that of the Hebrew captive yearning for a sight of Mount Zion.

"By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down, yea

we wept, when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.

“How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?”

“If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.”

The glory of Babylon, however, was not to be of lasting duration. Before many years were over its power went down before another great empire, of whose rise and fall we are to read in our next chapter.

CHAPTER IV. — THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

WHEN the Assyrian kingdom was broken in pieces, the northern and eastern portions came into the hands of the Medes, who lived in the lands lying southward from the Caspian Sea. Closely allied to these people were the Persians, a hardy race of shepherds and peasants who lived near the shores of what is now known as the Persian Gulf. Both these races had adopted a form of religion preached in the earliest times by Zoroaster, a great prophet and teacher.

He taught that there were two great gods — one of light, and the other of darkness. The first, named Ormuzd, was “the spirit of wisdom and light, the

very great and very good, the lord of perfection and activity, of intelligence, growth, and beauty.” But the efforts of this god to rule the world aright were being continually spoilt by the evil spirit Ahriman, “the spirit of darkness and malice, of crime, sin, and ugliness.” “Every good man,” the great teacher said, “ought to spend his life in helping Ormuzd against Ahriman.”

While Babylon was rising to great power in the South the Medes were founding a wide empire in the North, and soon they bore rule from the southern shore of the Black Sea to the desert lands of Bactria. But there was growing up meanwhile in the city of Susa, near the head of the Persian Gulf, a young Persian prince named Cyrus, before whom both the Medes and the Babylonians were in time to bow the knee.

It was about five and a half centuries before the birth of Christ when Cyrus began his career of victory. He attacked the King of the Medes, defeated him, and made him a prisoner. Then the Medes became the followers of the conqueror, and thus was set up the kingdom of the “Medes and Persians” to which reference is often made in the books of the Old Testament.

For the next twenty years Cyrus was engaged in wars, usually victorious, in the lands which lie between the Eastern Mediterranean and the highlands to the north-west of India. We cannot follow him through these campaigns, but we shall see how he fared in a war with a certain Asiatic King named Croesus.

This monarch was at the head of a kingdom which occupied the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. The western shores of his dominions were not far from the lands inhabited by the Greeks, of whom we are soon to learn a great deal; and he sent messengers across the sea to the temple of a Greek god to ask how he should succeed if he went to war with Cyrus, the



THE GREEK GOD ZEUS.

great conqueror of Persia. The answer came: "Croesus, if he engages in this contest, will destroy a great empire." This he took to mean victory for himself, though a little reflection might have shown him that it might also mean defeat.

For Croesus was at the head of a powerful kingdom, and was so wealthy that to call a man a Croesus in our time means that he is considered to be a very rich man.

So great was this King's wealth and magnificence that people came from far and near to see the splendour of his Court at the city of Sardis.

One day there came across the sea to that city a Greek philosopher named Solon, to whom were shown all the treasures and wealth of the great King. The sage made no remark, until at last it is said the King asked him who was the happiest man he had ever seen, thinking that there could be only one answer to such a question. "Call no man happy," was the reply of the philosopher, "until he has ended his life in a fitting manner." The words are said to have sunk deeply into the heart of the proud King.

Confident of victory, Croesus declared war against Cyrus, and set out on the march against him. Cyrus came quickly to meet his foe, and a battle took place in which neither side could claim the victory. Cyrus withdrew, and Croesus, thinking that the war was over, parted company with his allies, and set out on the return journey to his capital. When Cyrus heard of what had been done he made ~~not~~ chase after his foe, whom he defeated just outside the city of Sardis.

Croesus took refuge within his royal city, but after a siege of only a fortnight the place was taken by Cyrus, and the King was made a prisoner. Croesus was condemned to die by fire, and was led out to his doom. According to one Greek legend, he was saved in the following way: As the flames were mounting into the air a heavy shower of rain began to fall, sent at that moment by the Greek god to whose temple

Croesus had presented rich treasures when he wished to learn the issue of the war. The flames sank down, and Cyrus, moved by the event, spared the life of his foe.

According to another version of the tale, as Croesus stood before the flaming pyre, he recalled the saying of Solon, and thrice repeated his name. Then Cyrus sent to ask upon whom he called in the hour of death, and was told the story of the Greek sage. This so moved the conqueror that he not only spared his prisoner, but made him one of his closest friends.

Leaving one of his leading generals to subdue Asia Minor, Cyrus now marched eastward to Babylon. The city yielded without a blow, and thus the empire of Babylonia fell before the next great world-power—that of the Persians, which was figured in the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream by the shoulders and arms of silver.

Cyrus was now lord of the lands which stretched from the Ægean Sea to the Indus, and from the Caspian and Aral Seas to the Persian Gulf. He fell at last in battle with one of the races of Central Asia, whose Queen commanded that his head should be struck off and flung into a pool of blood in order that his inhuman thirst might be fully appeased. In the reign of his successor the kingdom of Egypt was added to the empire of the Persians, and the rising nation of the Greeks on the other side of the Ægean Sea began to fear for their independence.

Then there came to rule the Persian Empire the

great King Darius, under whose capable rule the various States of his dominions flourished exceedingly. Peace and quiet were established, and trade and commerce brought great wealth to the treasury of the monarch. Having grown rich, he looked about for something on which to spend his riches, and turned, like all other great Kings, to further conquests. He selected for attack the Greeks of South-Eastern Europe, of whose early history we must learn a little in our next chapter.

CHAPTER V.—THE EARLY DAYS OF GREECE.

WE know next to nothing of the earliest history of the Greeks who lived in what we now call the Balkan Peninsula. They called themselves Hellenes, and their land Hellas. And when their historians came to write down the story of the nation, they invented many wonderful legends to account for its origin. They told of heroes and kings who were of godlike race and who in the earliest times founded the nation of the Hellenes.

The greatest event of the earliest "history" of the Greeks was the Siege of Troy, which lasted for ten years. Troy was a town on the western coast of Asia Minor. How it came to be besieged, and what was the result of the siege, is told by the early Greek poet Homer in his book called the "Iliad," and the outline of the famous tale is as follows :

The King of a town on the eastern side of Greece had a very beautiful daughter who was named Helen. All the young chiefs and Princes of the various tribes or States into which the nation was divided wanted to marry Helen, and came to her father offering great wealth in flocks and herds for her. Now, her father, a wise and far-seeing Prince, made them all take an oath that, whoever wedded the beautiful maiden, all the rest would be his allies if ever he required their help in battle. They took the oath, each one wishing to please the King, and then Helen was given to Menelaus, the King of Sparta, a Grecian State of which we shall hear a great deal. Then the rest of the Princes went home, and married other wives less lovely than Helen.

Now, there came one day to the Court of Menelaus a young Prince named Paris, a son of the King of Troy, a city on the other side of the Ægean Sea. There he fell in love with the beautiful wife of Menelaus, as, indeed, everyone did who saw her, for she was as kind and charming as she was lovely.

This young Prince wished her to leave her home and her husband and go away with him to Troy, where he would marry her, and make her a great Princess. Helen, it is said, refused to listen to his wicked suggestions, and then Paris, by the help of magic, took upon himself the form of her husband. By this means he deceived her, and managed to persuade her to come with him for a sail in his ship. As soon as he got her on board he set sail for Troy, and when the shore was fast receding took his own form again, and

stood before his captive as Paris of Troy. Helen could not get back again, and if she could, she would have been ashamed to go. So she had to make the best of it, and on went the ship for the harbour of the city of Troy.

When Menelaus learnt that he had been robbed of his wife, he reminded the Princes who had been suitors for the hand of Helen of their promise. So they got together a great army, which was placed under the command of the chieftain Agamemnon, and sailed away to Troy. There they laid siege to the city, and remained encamped about it for ten years, during which time many great deeds were done on the side of the Trojans as well as the Greeks. We have not space to tell any of the wonderful tales of the siege which are recounted in the famous poem of Homer, but we must see how, according to the old legends, the Fall of Troy was at last brought about.

The Greeks grew weary of the war, and resolved to end it by means of a trick. So they built a great wooden horse, and within its hollow sides hid a number of picked warriors. Then they set sail as if for home, but when they reached an island not far from the city they hid their ships behind it, and waited to see what would happen.

The Trojans came out of the city in great glee, and were filled with wonder at the great wooden horse. One of them suggested that the ramparts of the city should be broken down in order to admit it, but others were suspicious, and said that it ought to be destroyed.

Meanwhile some Trojan shepherds had made captive



PARIS OF TROY.

(From a statue in the British Museum.)

a solitary Greek, whom they carried before their King. The man stood trembling and rolling his eyes about in terror, so they spoke kindly to him, asking him who he was and whence he came. "Greece is my country," he said; "Sinon is my name. My people meant to sacrifice me to the gods to win success in the war, but I fled and hid myself until they sailed away."

"Fear not," said the King. "But tell us for what purpose the Greeks raised this wooden monster." "In order to gain the favour of the gods," was the wily reply; "and if it were taken within your city the gods would fight on your side." Some of the Trojans suspected that this was all a trick, but they were overruled by the unthinking crowd, and in great joy the unwieldy monster was hauled through a breach made in the ramparts.

When night fell the Trojans went to rest without setting any guards. Meanwhile the Greeks came back and landed once again. Then Sinon, the deceiver, unlocked the side of the wooden horse, and the Greeks slid down a cable to the ground. The rest is soon told. The gates were opened to the waiting Greeks, and the town, oppressed with sleep and wine, surprised and taken.

When the Greeks had taken Troy, Helen was given back to Menelaus, and the victors set out for home. But many great storms arose, the ships were scattered all over the seas, and some of the warriors were drowned, while others wandered far and wide before they reached their homes again. One of them, named Ulysses, spent ten years on his wanderings

before he arrived at his own country. The story of his adventures during this time and of his return to his wife and son is told in another great Homeric poem, known as the *Odyssey*, but it is too long a tale to tell here ; besides, it is no part of sober history.

Among the various tribes who lived in early Greece the Spartans were one of the most interesting. These people had their homes in the southern portion of Greece, and they were a race of hardy soldiers. Any child born weakly was not allowed to live, and as soon as a boy reached his seventh year his training as a soldier began. By means of exercise his body was made strong and supple. He was carefully trained in the use of arms, and he had to learn to endure pain and discomfort without complaint. At twenty years of age he entered the army, and from that time spent the best part of his life in camp. "One of the tests," writes a historian, "to which the Spartan youth was subjected was a scourging at the altar of a goddess until his blood gushed forth. It was inflicted publicly before the eyes of the parents and in the presence of the whole city ; and many Spartan youths were known to have died under the lash without uttering a complaining murmur."

Spartan girls were put through a bodily training almost as severe as that of the boys. They also grew up to expect from their husbands and sons the utmost courage and hardihood. We read of a Spartan mother giving her son his shield on the outbreak of war, with the brave words, "Return with it, my son, or upon it." Over the relatives who had died bravely in battle

they rejoiced. Their sorrow was reserved for those who saved their lives but lost their honour.

Another interesting State of this early time was that of Athens, and one of its most famous men was the philosopher Solon, of whom we have already heard. "Solon was among the seven men who were thought to be the wisest of all the Greeks. It was not that he had read so very many books—there were not as yet a great number of books to read—but he had travelled about a great deal—to Egypt among other places—and had been ready to learn from everybody, and he had thought a great deal for himself, and tried to act up to his best thoughts.

"He used to write poems, and from them we can see what his chief thoughts were. He often felt sad, for he had seen a great deal of the folly and the wickedness that there is in the world, and even when he did the very best that he could for the people, he could never feel quite sure that they would have the sense to use rightly the good things he obtained for them. But of one thing he did feel very sure—that however puzzling the world may be, yet the power of ruling it all rests in much wiser hands than ours and he believed that wrong-doing could not prosper in the long-run, for the eyes of the god Zeus saw all things, and sooner or later evil deeds would be punished."*

Solon gave his mind to the good government of the Athenian State, and was able to bring about several changes which were for the good of the

* From *Friends of the Olden Time*, by Alice Gardner (E. Arnold)

people. The city of Athens prospered exceedingly, and much of the money made by commerce was used to erect the beautiful buildings which have been the models of architects throughout the world in all succeeding ages. Poets, sculptors, and artists were encouraged, and they made the names of Athens and of Greece renowned in song and story and sculpture.



MINERVA.

Then came the time when the power of Persia came into collision with that of the Greeks. We have seen how Cræsus was defeated by Cyrus and his kingdom taken from him. The next step was the invasion of Greece itself by the armies of Persia. This happened nearly five hundred years before the birth of Christ.



PERSEUS.

A great Persian force was landed at Marathon, on the east coast of Greece. Athens had to face the invader almost single-handed, but she had a good general

in the soldier Miltiades, and her men were well trained in the gymnasium and in the field to endure the rigours of war.

The Athenians had only one man for every ten of the enemy, but each soldier felt that upon him depended the fate of the whole of Greece. "The trumpet sounded for action, and chanting the hymn of battle the little army bore down upon the host of the foe. Then, too, along the mountain-slopes of Marathon must have resounded the cry, 'On, sons of the Hellenes! Strike for the freedom of your country! Strike for the freedom of your children and of your wives! for the shrines of your fathers' gods and for the sepulchres of your sires! All—all are now staked upon the strife.'" They were really engaged in helping to keep out of Europe the nations of Asia and claiming Europe for civilization and progress, and though they did not know it, they were fighting the first great decisive world-battle in history.

"When the Persians," writes a Greek historian, "saw the Athenians running down on them, without horse or bowmen, and scanty in numbers, they thought them a set of madmen rushing upon certain destruction." But before the day was over they learnt how madmen could fight. At last they were driven to their ships, and "the Greeks followed, striking them down, to the water's edge, where the invaders were now hastily launching their galleys.

"Flushed with success, the Athenians dashed at the fleet. 'Bring fire! bring fire!' was their cry; and they began to lay hold of the ships. But here

the Asiatics resisted desperately, and the chief loss sustained by the Greeks was in the attack on the fleet. Here fell several Athenians of note. One grasped the ornamental work on the stem of one of the galleys, and had his hand struck off by an axe. Seven galleys were captured, but the Persians succeeded in saving the rest."

Darius, full of anger, made extensive preparations for wiping out this disgrace. But he died before he could send or lead another expedition into Greece.

His plans were, however, taken up by his son Xerxes. The Greeks heard of the great preparations that were being made in the Persian lands, and got ready for the coming struggle. Ten years after the famous fight at Marathon a great Persian army set out to march into Greece from the north,* while a strong fleet sailed along the coast.

The first resistance met by the Persians was that of Leonidas and his brave little band of Spartans. He was King of Sparta, and with a band of three hundred picked warriors, he marched to defend the narrow pass of Thermopylae, by which the Persian army would have to make its way into Central Greece. A wall had been erected across the narrow path between the mountains and the sea, and behind this rampart Leonidas placed his Spartan soldiers. He had also with him a body of about seven hundred men, drawn from various parts of Greece, and he was quite conscious of what depended upon the bravery of himself and his followers.

* After crossing the Hellespont by a bridge of boats.

Before long the army of the Great King was seen in the distance, and some of the soldiers of Leonidas were filled with terror. But these were not the Spartans. One of the latter was told with awe by a trembling Greek that the archers of the army of Xerxes were so numerous that their flights of arrows darkened the air. "So much the better," was the brave retort. "We shall be able to fight in the shade."

The King of the Persians sent forward a scout on horseback to find out what the Spartans were doing. He rode back to his master, and reported that they were engaged in combing their hair! This puzzled the King greatly, but there was in his army a Greek who had deserted from his own side, and who said that this was the Spartan custom when they meant to win or die.

Xerxes did not wish for a fight at the moment, so he halted for a few days to give the Spartans time to move out of the way, as he thought they would surely do when they knew of the great power behind him. When they did not do so, he sent a body of men to fight them, but these were beaten back. Then the King sent his own guards, the pick of his men, and these, too, could not clear the pass. The anger of Xerxes was very great, but this did not concern Leonidas and his men.

When the Persian King was wondering what he should do next, there came to him a treacherous Greek who offered to show him a path across the mountain by means of which a small force could come down behind the Greeks, avoiding the pass altogether. This

offer was gladly accepted, and it was soon arranged that Leonidas should be attacked on both sides.

The Spartan King heard of what had been planned, but he was not dismayed. When he and his men were surrounded, they fought bravely while they could and then gladly laid down their lives for their country.

The central part of Greece now lay open to the Persian King. Athens was abandoned by its inhabitants and taken by the invaders. Soon the flames of the burning city were seen from the Greek ships which lay in the Bay of Salamis, not far away. There the fleet was before long faced by the ships of the Persians, and preparations were made for what may be described as the first great naval battle.

“The day was rough, a south-west wind was blowing across the breadth of the bay, and the surf ran high. Nevertheless, it was the King’s fleet that made the first movement. Rowing against wind and tide, and suffering much from overcrowding, they slowly and laboriously advanced. For a moment the Greeks hung back close to the land and their anchorage; then a ship shot out of the line and rammed a Sidonian vessel. Ship after ship followed, and soon battle had been joined all along the strait, and the water was covered by a confused medley of galleys, circling round each other, and seeking opportunity to ram, or locked in close combat where the press was thicker.

“For many hours the conflict showed no signs of slackening, and the King, as he sat on a high rock

overlooking the bay, with his scribes at his feet gazing on the vast panorama in the bay, had time enough to note down many a bold deed of friend and foe.

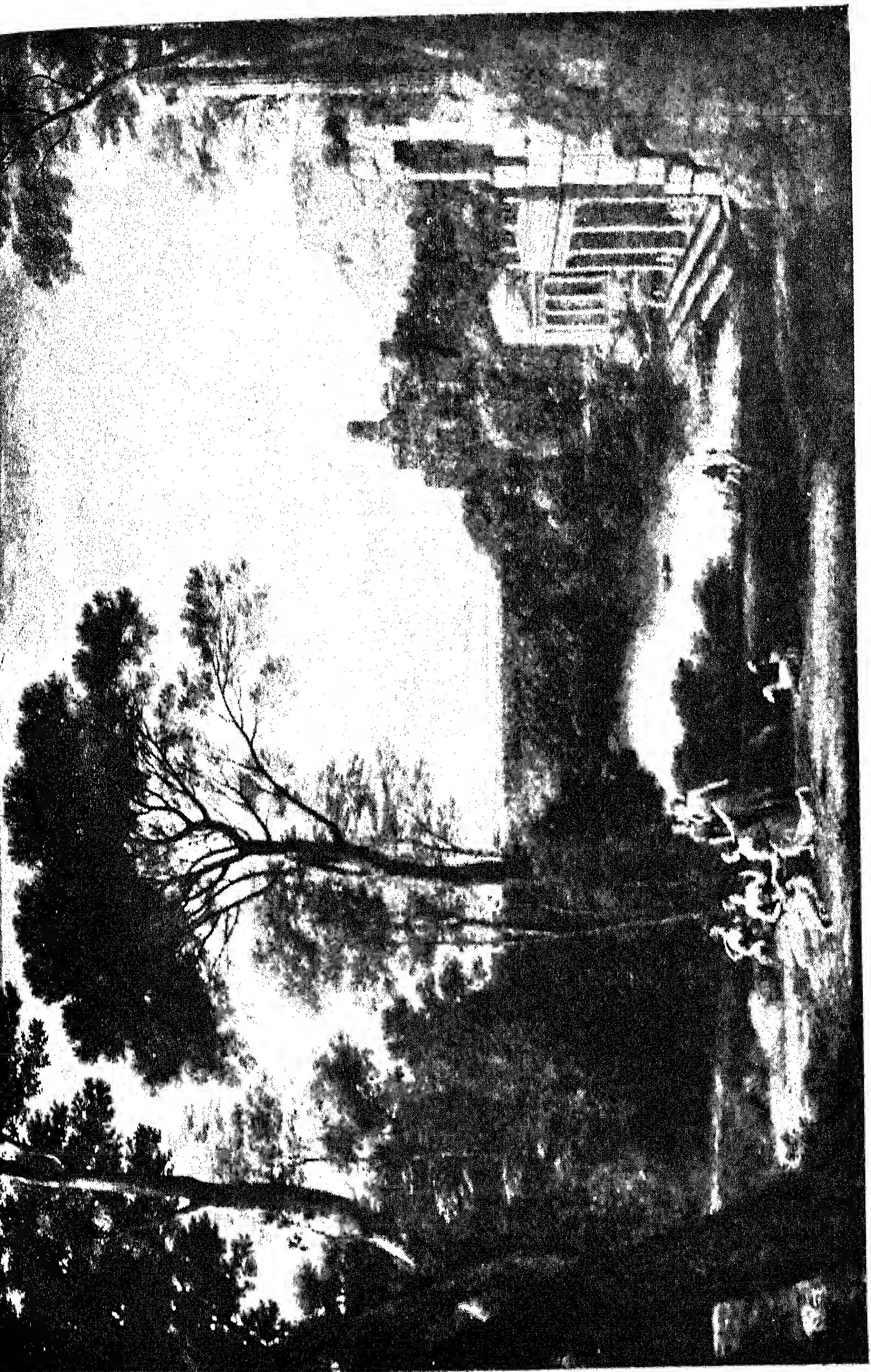
“But at last the current of the fight began to set markedly towards the south and east; numbers of Persian ships dropped out of the line disabled, and ran ashore or drifted down the coast; the rest fell more and more into confusion, huddling into helpless masses, and fighting purely on the defensive. Finally their losses began to tell on them. The King’s brother, who held the supreme command, fell as he was attempting to board an Athenian vessel; and about nightfall the broken fleet reeled slowly back to the coast and took refuge with the land army, which had moved down to the beach to assist it. Most of its rearmost vessels were cut off by the Athenians, who pressed their victory home and chased the enemy till he was absolutely out of reach.”*

So ended the great sea-fight of Salamis. To quote the verse of our own poet, Lord Byron:

“A king sat on the rocky brow
Which looks o’er sea-born Salamis;
And ships, by thousands, lay below,
And men in nations; all were his!
He counted them at break of day,
And when the sun set where were they?”

Xerxes, alarmed for his own safety, returned to Asia, leaving an army under his brother-in-law to “complete the conquest of Greece.” But in the next year

* Professor Oman.



this force was destroyed by the Greeks, and after another victorious naval battle they freed the country of the Persians. The great question had now been settled in the negative, Was Asia to subdue Europe?

There was now formed a league of Greek States and cities, of which Athens was the head. The ruined city was rebuilt and surrounded by a strong wall. Athens now became the most famous city of the East. Beautiful buildings were erected, planned and decorated by the greatest artists in stone the world has ever seen; great poets and prose-writers arose who by their works have won immortal fame.

CHAPTER VI.—THE LATER DAYS OF GREECE.

ALTHOUGH Athens had risen to a leading position among the Greek States, she had a formidable rival in Sparta. And before long these two States were engaged in a struggle for supremacy. Athens was strong upon the sea, while Sparta was possessed of a powerful land army, so that the contest was at first rather like one between an elephant and a whale and this caused it to drag out to very great length. It lasted, with intermissions, for nearly thirty years.

We have not space to follow the varying fortunes of this war. Near the end of the struggle the Persians came to the help of the Spartans, but the Athenians bravely held their own for some time. Then at last the Athenian ships were surprised in the Hellespont by the Spartans, and almost swept out of existence

The victors now took Athens after a siege, and the walls of the city were once more thrown to the ground.

Sparta was now supreme in Greece, but she was not able to weld the various States of the country into one harmonious whole, presenting a united front to their foes. The Spartan King was named Lysander, and he had as his friend and ally a young Prince of Persia named Cyrus, who aspired to the throne of that country, which was then under the rule of his brother.

In order to help him in his plans he raised a large army of Persians and others from various parts of Asia Minor. And he also hired a considerable number of Greek soldiers, promising them good pay, and assuring them that their services were only required in the South of Asia Minor, for he knew that they dreaded the mountainous lands and wide deserts of the Persian kingdom.

But little by little he led them on until they reached the Euphrates. Then, under a promise of increased pay, he persuaded them to continue their march on Susa, which, you may remember, was the Persian capital. When within a few days' march of Babylon the army was met by a great force under the Persian King. In the battle which followed Cyrus was slain, his native troops took to flight, and the Greek contingent was left far from home and from the sea-coast without a leader and without a cause.

They tried to get the Persians to promise them a safe conduct to their homes, but their leaders, after being invited to a conference, were treacherously murdered. Then they elected new officers, and set

out on the march to the mountain country of Armenia north of the lands ruled by the Persian King.

On they went past the ruined city of Nineveh, but the people of the country harassed them at every turn. Winter came on, and with failing hearts they struggled onward through snow-drifts and swollen mountain torrents till, after many weary months, they saw the broad waters of the Euxine Sea lying beneath their feet.

But their troubles were not yet ended. Every city to which they drew near refused to admit within its gates so formidable a body of warriors, for the company was ten thousand strong. They crossed over to the lands to the north of Greece, where they wandered for some time half starved and weary with travel. At last, however, a messenger sought them out to offer them service in the lands of Persia they had just left. Sparta was about to attack the Great King in his own dominions, and their help in the campaign would be invaluable.

In the war which followed, Sparta weakened herself without inflicting any great loss upon her opponents, and this in spite of the bravery and genius of her lame king Agesilaus. "The wisdom and moderation of this King," writes an early historian, "were the theme of every tongue. Whenever he lodged in a city he took up his quarters in the chief of the temples, for though most men do not choose that the gods should see what they are about, he was desirous to have them witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of men as he had there was none who had a worse or harder bed

than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold that none was so well prepared for whatever seasons the climate could produce.

“The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle than when the Persian Governors, who rolled in riches and luxury, paid their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and upon one laconic word from him agreed with all his sentiments.”

On one occasion Agesilaus marched at the head of his forces against a hostile tribe of Greeks, and defeated them in a fixed battle. Some of his officers then begged him to stay in the enemy's country until winter, so as to prevent them sowing their corn. “Nay,” said the King, “wisdom points the other way. They will be more afraid of war when they have their fields covered with corn.” Then he led his armies away, and returning in the next year, when the corn stood high in the fields, was able to make advantageous terms with the hostile tribe.

One anecdote told of Agesilaus reminds us a little of Nelson's breach of orders at Copenhagen. When a general had seized a certain citadel of a rival State in time of full peace, many people were filled with great indignation. Certain men came to Agesilaus, and in an angry tone demanded, “By whose orders has this thing been done?” hoping to bring the blame upon him.

“You must examine the tendency of the action,” said the King quietly. “Consider whether it is of advantage to Sparta. If its nature is such, it was glorious to do it without any orders.”

In his talk, we are told, Agesilaus was always magnifying justice and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing, and if all men were just there would be no need of valour." If anyone in the course of conversation happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the Great King," he would answer, "How is he greater than I if he is not more just?"

When the war with Persia was ended, the King sent him a letter proposing a private friendship, but he declined it, saying, "The public friendship is enough. While that lasts there is no need of a private one."

There were living about this time two famous men who were not fighters, and of whom we ought to know a little. Their names were Socrates and Plato.

Socrates was a native of Athens, began life as sculptor, and served the State with great credit as soldier. He was very hardy, wore only the lightest clothes, and went barefoot summer and winter. At a time he became known as one of the wisest men among the deepest thinkers who have ever lived. He did not write books or teach in a school like other philosophers, but he mixed familiarly with the people, and discussed with them all things, human and divine.

Like most great men, he made many enemies among those who were least worthy, and at last they were able to bring him to trial and get him condemned to death. He accepted his fate with calmness, and drank the cup of poisonous hemlock without a murmur or a sign of hesitation.

So passed away the great Greek teacher. But

work was carried on by Plato, who had been at one time his devoted pupil. After the death of his master he began to teach in a plane-tree grove at Athens, and people soon flocked in great numbers to hear him. He was always very grave and quiet, so that people adopted the saying "as sad as Plato."

He wrote many books, which are chiefly in the form of dialogues, and the central figure of all his writings is his master Socrates. The subjects about which he thought and wrote were many and various. "Out of Plato," says a great writer, "come all things that are still written and debated among men of thought." It is said that the great philosopher died in the act of writing.

As we have already seen, Sparta was not able to unite the Greek States into one strong and united nation, and after some time another power arose in Greece to dispute with her the first place in the land. This was the Thebes, which rose to its greatest height under the famous general Epaminondas.

He dared the military might of Sparta, and in two great battles defeated her armies, which were composed of some of the best soldiers the world has ever seen. But the power of Thebes was short-lived. When Epaminondas died she fell quickly from her high place, and the eyes of the Greeks began to turn with some fear and trembling to a new power which was arising to the north of their land—that of Macedonia.

It was not a Greek State, but one which the real Greeks described as "barbarian." But it was strong

and united under a King named Philip, who knew what he wanted—namely, the lordship of the whole of Greece. In his youth he had spent some time in Greece, and had there learnt two lessons. One was that the weakness of the Greek States lay in their want of unity. The other was that the sovereignty of the whole country would fall to the man of determination with a well-drilled force at his back.

Little by little he extended his power over the northern part of Greece, though at first without open fighting. He was a clever schemer, and free with his money and presents when such a course was necessary. “No town is impregnable,” he said on one occasion, “if once I can get a mule-load of silver passed within its gates.” But he had many good qualities. He was never cruel for the sake of cruelty. He was a true friend, and open-handed to those who served him faithfully. He was frank and good-natured to those about him.

When he saw his opportunity he marched south to Thermopylæ, but he found the pass occupied by the soldiers of Athens, and he was forced to retire for a time. But a little later he came again along with his son Alexander, of whom we shall yet hear a great deal. And a battle was fought at Chæronea, where the King of Macedon was faced by the Greeks, united at last when it was too late.

Philip won a great and decisive victory, and the independence of Greece came to an end. So great was the King's delight at his success that at night, after a long drinking-bout, he reeled off to the battle-field to dan-

and sing among the corpses. He did not, however, treat the Greeks with the harshness that they had expected, though he made it quite plain that he was now complete master of the country. He was planning to lead an army of his subject Greeks against the Persians when death overtook him. And his power passed to his son Alexander, of whom we shall read in our next chapter.

CHAPTER VII.—ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

ALEXANDER, the son of Philip of Macedon, was one of the world's greatest conquerors. Many stories are told of his boyhood and youth, as of all famous men, but we have space only for one.

A certain man offered to sell to King Philip a fine horse named Bucephalus, and the King, with his courtiers, went out into a field to see some trial made of him. The animal was very vicious, and would not even suffer itself to be spoken to, but turned quickly upon all the grooms. Thereupon the King was angry, and bade his servants take the horse away.

But Alexander, who had been looking closely at the animal, said: "What a horse are they losing for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" "Young man," said his father, "you find fault with your elders as if you knew more than they, or could manage the horse better." "And I certainly could," answered the Prince. "If you should not be able to ride him yourself," asked Philip, "what will you undertake to

forfeit?" "I will pay the price of the horse," was the reply.

All in the company laughed. But Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the sun, for he had observed that the shadow which fell before the horse continually disturbed it. While his fierceness and fury lasted he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him, after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and made himself secure. Then, without pulling the reins too hard or using whip or spur, he set the animal going.

As soon as he saw the horse's uneasiness abated he put it to a full gallop, and urged it on both with voice and spur. Philip and all his Court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence fell upon them. But when the Prince had turned the animal and brought it safe back again, they all received him with loud cheers. But his father, with tears of joy upon his cheeks, kissed him, saying, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abilities for Macedonia is too small for thee."

Alexander spent the rest of his life in carrying out his father's advice.

He was only twenty when his father met his death at the hands of an assassin, but upon the first signs of rebellion he acted promptly and with decision. Then he got ready to set out for Persia as Philip had planned. This was in the year 334 B.C.

Alexander had been well prepared for the work of conquest, such as it was. "The quality which enabled him to leave his mark on history was his military



ALEXANDER AT THE TENT OF DARIUS.

(From the painting by Lebrun.)

talent. He was a heaven-born general, and was, besides, brought up with every advantage he could have desired. He was one of the leaders who win by rapid strokes and daring expedients. His long marches were perhaps the most characteristic part of his career. Urged on by him, his armies appeared to be able to annihilate time and space; the rapidity of their motion was almost incredible. He was on the spot when his enemies believed him to be hundreds of miles away. And when once arrived, Alexander had an eagle eye for seizing the moment to strike: he hardly ever made a mistake; his attacks, however reckless succeeded to a miracle.

“He was above all things a cavalry general. It was the irresistible charge of his heavy Life-guards, with himself in the van leading them on, that always won his battles. The steady Macedonian phalanx, with its impenetrable hedge of spears, was only the secondary tool in the hewing out of his victories. While the great mass of infantry rolled like a hedgehog into the midst of the enemy, occupied their attention, beat off their attacks, and exhausted their energy, it was always the wild onset of the King and his ‘Companions’ of the Macedonian horse that settled the day.”*

Alexander began the conquest of the ancient world with an army of some thirty-five thousand men—a mere handful. He crossed the Hellespont and marched south through Asia Minor to the river Granicus where his first battle took place. Here he fought

* Professor Oman.

gallantly, always in the thick of the battle, and though the issue was never in doubt, the Persians fought well, and for a time the fight raged hotly. A Persian officer cut off the white plume from Alexander's helmet; another got behind him and was about to stab him, when one of his body-guards cut off the uplified hand.

This victory cleared the way for him for an advance upon the central strongholds of the Persians. Marching through Asia Minor, he met King Darius at Issus, near the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean.

On the way the conqueror had passed through a town called Gordium, where the inhabitants carefully preserved an ancient chariot, said to have been built by the first King of the land. It had a long pole, which was attached to the yoke by means of a twisted knot; and it was told to the King that the man who was able to undo this Gordian knot would in time make himself monarch of the world. Alexander listened to the story, then, drawing his sword, cut the knot through the middle.

At Issus a great battle was fought between Darius and Alexander. The army of the young conqueror was now more numerous, for his success had brought many trained veterans to fight under his standard. Darius, in a lofty chariot, took his place in the Persian ranks. But when Alexander's generalship won its usual success, the "Great King" leapt from his seat and mounted a charger. The cry arose that he was dead. The Persians fell into confusion, and then broke into flight. Then followed a great slaughter of the fugitives.

Darius made his escape, but his wives and treasure fell into the hands of the conqueror. Then Alexander turned aside to Egypt, storming the ancient city of Tyre on the way. The Egyptians, at that time subject to the Persians, welcomed him as a deliverer. He stayed for the winter in the country, founded the city of Alexandria, and then prepared to attack the Great King once more.

He met him at Arbela, near the Tigris, and here another great world-battle took place, in which Alexander was again the victor, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the million of men under the Persian King. "The soothsayer who rode by the side of Alexander dressed in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, pointed out before the fight began an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops that, after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent. Before the first ranks were well engaged the enemy gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives in order to penetrate into the midst of the host, where Darius acted in person.

"He beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily known by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared so terrible as he drove the fugitives upon those who still held their ground

that they were seized with panic, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest met their death before the King's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit ; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses' legs as they lay upon the ground.

“ Darius had now the most dreadful danger before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him ; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it ; and the horses, plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, no longer obeying the hands of the driver. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled on a swift mare.”*

After this great battle Alexander made himself master of the chief Persian cities, including Babylon and Susa, and was now considered to be master of Asia. King Darius was pursued in his flight to the north, but he did not fall into the hands of his conqueror. His own followers had now lost all respect for the fugitive King, and put him into chains ; and when Alexander was pressing hard upon him one of them stabbed him. The conqueror arrived just as the King was expiring, and was careful to see that the body of his rival was given honourable burial. Only seven years later Alexander, too, had passed away, and with him all his glory.

The next campaign was against the murderer of

* Plutarch's *Lives*.

Darius, who had made himself a King in the eastern provinces of the Persian Empire. After a great deal of fighting the usurper was defeated, brought into the market-place of his own capital, with a wooden collar round his neck, publicly flogged, and then executed.

After further fighting in Central Asia, Alexander turned his thoughts to India; for his ambition and vanity had now increased to such an extent that he could not rest satisfied with the great power and wealth he had already won. He had also forsaken his habits of sobriety, and now often indulged in unseemly drinking-bouts, in one of which he killed his best friend, Cleitus, with a pike.

Marching into the Punjab, he was met by a brave King of that country named Porus, who resisted him so strongly that Alexander only purchased his victory at the price of a thousand men. Porus was wounded and taken as a prisoner before his conqueror, who asked him how he wished to be treated. "Like a King," was the reply, which roused all the fine feelings of the victor, who not only gave him back his kingdom, but added to it a new province.

Alexander now planned to march into the valley of the Ganges, but his soldiers had travelled quite far enough from their homes, and refused to follow his lead any longer. The King, full of rage and grief, shut himself up in his tent, declaring that what had been done was nothing to what they might yet do under his leadership. But they had made up their minds, and putting the best face possible upon the matter, the King once more turned his steps hom-

wards. He followed the Indus to its mouth, and then marched westward through the land now known as Baluchistan. On the way down the Indus he was attacked by one of the warlike tribes who lived in the wild regions of North-Western India, and turned aside to storm their citadel.

In the fighting the great King bravely took his share, and was the first to scale the wall. But when he and two others had reached the top the scaling-ladder broke. Finding himself much galled by the darts from below, he poised himself and leapt down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the enemy were so much astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down that they thought they saw lightning issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back in dismay.

But when they saw that he was attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, in spite of the valour with which he fought. One of them, taking long aim, sent an arrow with such force that it made a way through his breastplate and entered his side. He fell back and sank to his knees. His assailant then ran forward to despatch him, but his companions placed themselves before him. One was wounded and the other killed before the King could recover himself.

Then he received such a heavy blow upon the neck that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood facing the foe. But by this time the Macedonians had entered the citadel, and gathering

round their fainting King, carried him off to his tent. He lay sick for so long a time that a report went about that he was dead, and his soldiers gathered in a crowd around his tent. So he put on his robe and showed himself to them, thereby calming their fears.

On the way through the deserts of Baluchistan the army suffered greatly from hunger and thirst. After much suffering and loss of life they reached Susa, and Alexander set himself to organize his wide dominions. He did not wish to return to Macedonia, but intended to make his empire a compound of Greek and Oriental, thus welding together Europe and Asia in what was proved to be then and later an unnatural union.

His intentions displeased his Greek followers, who spoke their minds freely to him. But the King spoke to them in words of fiery eloquence, and bade them go back to Macedonia, and to the rough shepherd life from which his father had rescued them, for he could do without them. His words not only awed them but filled them with remorse, and so the mutiny was at an end.

Alexander now made extensive plans for bringing his vast empire into order. After considerable fighting with some of the wild tribes of the North, he made his way towards Babylon, intending to spend the winter there. Some distance from the city he was met by a number of soothsayers, who warned him that if he entered Babylon evil would surely befall him. But he disregarded their warnings, and pressed forward. Upon his approach to the walls he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell dead at his feet.

This evil omen is said to have disturbed him greatly, and he spent most of his time in a pavilion outside the walls of the city.

Not long afterwards he caught a fever. Ten days later he was dead. At the time of his death he had not finished his thirty-third year. He left behind him an infant son, a mighty empire, and a crowd of ambitious generals, each jealous of the others. The cohesion of his kingdom depended upon himself, and after his death the great empire soon fell apart.

But the great conqueror had carried Grecian civilization into the Asian lands between the Mediterranean and the Indus ; and we shall find many evidences of it as we go on with our story. That part of the world over which he bore rule is in our day one of the most backward, but that is because it has been overrun by tribes of Central Asia, of which we shall read in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE EARLY DAYS OF ROME.

LET us now see what had been going on in Greece while Alexander had been fighting and conquering in Asia. He had knit together the various States of that country, and this was to their advantage. Delivered from the horrors and distractions of civil war, the greatest minds among the Greeks could devote themselves to art and literature, learning and philosophy. Sculptors carved statues which have become models for workers in stone of all ages. Wise men

taught and supplied the greatest minds of other lands with food for deep thought on man and the purpose of his life. Athens and Alexandria became centers to which flocked pupils and scholars from all parts of the civilized world.

Even when Alexander's huge empire fell apart, and in all its great divisions there were civil wars and revolutions, the Greek world of the East was held together by a common language and literature, by love of art, and refinement, and learning. But meanwhile another great military power was arising far to the west, which was destined to create a new world-empire. This was the power of Rome, which must now engage our attention for some time.

When the Romans had risen to greatness they began to invent legends to account for their origin and many of these tales are told in a long poem called the *Æneid*, which was written by the Roman poet Virgil. The great ancestor of the Romans, it was said, was Æneas, a Prince of Troy, who left his home after the fall of that city, and with a band of followers made his way westward along the Mediterranean to seek his fortune in other lands.

After many wanderings, the voyagers came to Carthage, a city founded by the Phoenicians on the northern shore of Africa, and were kindly received by Queen Dido of that city. Here they stayed for some time, and Æneas related the circumstances of the Fall of Troy to his kind hostess, who fell in love with the wandering Prince. Finding that he did not intend to remain in Carthage, she was so affected that she



A ROMAN BOY.

had a funeral pyre prepared on which she ended her life.

Æneas, sailing from Carthage, came at last to the western coast of Italy, where he met with a King named Latinus, who promised him his daughter's hand in marriage. But the Princess had another suitor, and Æneas was forced into war with him, which lasted for some time, but in which he was victorious. Then, having married the Princess, he founded a kingdom known as Alba Longa. Many years later there was a cruel King over this little State, who ordered the twin sons of his brother's daughter to be thrown into the river Tiber; but they floated down the stream until they came to the place where Rome was afterwards built.

Here the infant boys were found by a she-wolf, that took them to her den, and nursed them until they were discovered by a shepherd. He carried them to his wife, who named them Romulus and Remus, and brought them up to manhood. When they grew up they made themselves known to their grandfather, whom they placed on the throne after slaying the wicked King. Then they determined to build a city on the banks of the Tiber, but quarrelled as to whose it should be, and in the end Romulus killed Remus, and built the city, which he named Rome. He became its King, and made it great in war, and at last was taken up to Heaven without dying. Such is the legend of the foundation of Rome.

At first the little Roman State on the banks of the Tiber was ruled by Kings, who gradually enlarged the

Roman territory by subduing the surrounding tribes. The Capitol and other famous buildings were set up, and the city enclosed by strong walls. In due time there arose a King called Tarquinius Superbus, who ruled in such a tyrannical manner that he was at last driven out of Rome, and the people took a solemn oath never to be ruled by a King again.

But the exiled King obtained the help of a neighbouring monarch, and marched with a large army to the very gates of the city. Then it was that Horatius Cocles, with two other brave Romans, saved the city by holding the entrance to the wooden bridge which spanned the Tiber. This they did by meeting three of their foes at a time in the narrow approach to the bridge, and so gaining time while the Romans behind them cut away the beams, and allowed the structure to fall into the water. It is a stirring story, and has been well told by Lord Macaulay in his famous poem "The Lay of Horatius."

The historians of Rome differ somewhat in their narration of the famous tale. But the brave narrative handed down from generation to generation would help in the making of Roman valour, and nerve the youth of the city to grow great by Horatius' example, and—

"Put on

The dauntless spirit of resolution."

Looking back at a later date upon this early period of their history, the Romans regarded it as the time of their truest greatness — when Romans fought shoulder to shoulder for pure love of the State; when

men were called, like Cincinnatus, from guiding the plough to guide the fortunes of Rome in the Senate and then went back to their simple tasks, content with the consciousness of having given their best in the service of all ; a time of which the poet tells—

“ Then none was for a party,
 Then all were for the State ;
 Then the great man helped the poor,
 And the poor man loved the great ;
 Then lands were fairly portioned ;
 Then spoils were fairly sold ;
 The Romans were like brothers
 In the brave days of old.”

With the true Roman of this period the State occupied the first place in his thoughts and affections ; neither would any personal or family considerations tempt him to sully his reputation for strictness of virtue. Brutus, one of the first of the Consuls who managed the affairs of Rome after the expulsion of Tarquin, discovered a plot to restore the exiled King, and found among the conspirators his own two sons. With the other plotters these two young men were put to death at the command of their own father.

“ For Romans in Rome’s quarrel
 Spared neither land nor gold,
 Nor son, nor wife, nor limb, nor life
 In the brave days of old.”

Historians fix the date of Rome’s foundation at 753 B.C.—that is, nearly eight hundred years before Christ was born in Bethlehem. Up to the year 509 the Roman State was a republic, and though the

precise method of government varied very often, the power remained during this long period more or less in the hands of the people. In the first two hundred years of this period there were continual struggles between the patricians, or nobles, and the plebeians, who were mainly descendants of outsiders who had obtained certain privileges of citizenship. These struggles were very bitter, but when common danger threatened the safety of Rome, all stood shoulder to shoulder in her defence.

To the early part of the republican period belongs the story of Coriolanus, which Shakespeare tells in one of his plays. Coriolanus was a proud patrician, but a brave soldier and a noble Roman, who owed much to the training of his widowed mother Volumnia. He took a prominent part in the disputes with the plebeians, and made himself so obnoxious to them that he was banished from the city.

“Curs !” cried the proud patrician when he heard the sentence of the people whom he had bravely served as a general ; “ it is I who banish *you*. Remain, and tremble at every rumour of war ; shake whenever you see the plumes of your invaders nodding. Banish your defenders one by one until your ignorance delivers you captive without a blow. For your sakes I despise Rome, and thus turn my back on her. There is a world elsewhere.”

At this time a neighbouring people known as the Volscians were preparing an invasion of Rome. Coriolanus joined them, and with their general marched upon the city. Within five miles of its walls the

great army encamped, and it seemed as if the fate of Rome were sealed. Then there came to the tent of Coriolanus his wife Virgilia, with his two little sons and his mother Volumnia, to beg for mercy for the city.

The interview between the soldier and this pathetic embassy may be read in Shakespeare's play. It makes one of the most affecting stories in literature. In the end the general was persuaded to withdraw his forces. "All the swords of Italy," he cried, "could not have made this peace." Then, when the happy little band had gone back to Rome, Coriolanus returned to his new friends, the Volscians, but only to meet his death at their hands.

At one time the Roman State was governed by ten men chosen from among the patricians, and called the Decemvirs, a name formed from the Latin words *decem*, ten, and *vir*, a man. At this time there lived in Rome a brave soldier named Virginius, who had fought his country's battles over and over again. His chief joy and pride was in his daughter Virginia, who was known to the people of the city for her beauty and her winsome ways.

Appius Claudius, one of the ten, saw this maiden one day crossing the open space known as the Forum, and his base mind at once conceived the idea of gaining possession of her by fair means or foul. Under his secret direction she was shortly afterwards seized in the Forum by one Marcus, a discreditable hanger-on of Claudius. This bad man claimed Virginia as his slave, saying that she had been stolen from his house when she was a mere infant. The case was tried



THE EMBASSY TO CORIOLANUS.

(From an engraving after G. Hamilton.)

according to law, and the magistrate before whom Marcus appeared was none other than Claudius himself.

The result of the trial might have been foretold before the magistrate appeared in the court. Virginius was commanded, in the name of the law, for which the Romans had so deep a reverence, to give up his only child to Marcus. So far the wicked seemed to be triumphant; but Claudius and his vile servant had not reckoned upon the desperation of Virginius, who knew that by the sentence his beloved child had been condemned to a life of slavery.

Snatching up a knife from a butcher's stall in the market-place, the unhappy father plunged it into the bosom of his daughter, choosing rather to see her lying dead at his feet than to know that she was living as the slave of the brutal Appius. This tragic act is said to have been the signal for a revolt of the plebeians against the "wicked Ten," and certain officers were appointed who would protect the people against the oppression and tyranny of the nobles.

The year 390 B.C. saw an invasion of the central part of Italy by the wild tribes of the Gauls who had established themselves to the north of the River Po. They defeated the Romans on the banks of the River Allia, and then marched upon the city, which they sacked and burnt. But Roman historians of a later date embellished their accounts of the events of this time with stories of brave Romans who, as they say, drove the Gauls from their city. They tell how Manlius, one of their leaders, was roused from sleep by the cackling of the sacred geese on the Capitol, to find

the Gauls attempting a midnight attack on this the central stronghold of the city, and how the attempt was frustrated by the soldiers whom Manlius instantly aroused.

They also relate how, when the Romans, driven to offering a thousand pounds of gold to bribe the Gauls to leave their city, were weighing out the precious metal, the chief of the invaders brought false weights, and also threw his sword into the scale, crying, "Woe to the vanquished!" But—so, at least, runs the tale as told by the Romans—at this very moment Camillus, the Roman general, entered the Forum, and ordering the gold to be taken away, drove the Gauls from Rome.

The Gauls did not stay in the city, for the Venetians had invaded their territory, and they were forced to go back north again. "The invasion of the Gauls was the passing of a thunderstorm," writes a great historian, but it had been a very destructive storm indeed.

"When the Romans reassembled in the city, they found their numbers greatly reduced. From their dwellings on the seven hills of Rome, in place of the rich fields and numerous herds which they beheld before the capture of the city, they saw on every side a wide prospect of desolation. From their people an immense number must have been carried off into the Gallic lands beyond the Po.

"To buy off their formidable enemies it had been necessary to take out the gold which was consecrated to the gods in the Capitol, and a double tribute was now laid upon the people to replace it. Besides paying

this heavy sum, the people had to rebuild their houses, to replace their farming implements, and to buy cattle and seed-corn."

The Romans might well have been driven to despair at this crisis. But the hour brought the man. In Camillus the Romans of that day found a leader and a saviour. The city was restored. The army was brought into better order. And from her ashes Rome rose, like the Phoenix of the fable, stronger than ever she had been before.

CHAPTER IX.—THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE.

FOR a considerable time after the visitation of the Gauls the Romans were engaged in various wars in Italy. We shall not pause to consider these in detail but note only what effect they had upon the position of Rome. They left her mistress of the whole of the southern part of Italy, except certain cities on the coast which had been established as colonies by the Greeks.

These cities were very wealthy, and one of the greatest was Tarentum. "One day," we read, "the people of this city were all sitting in the theatre, which was in the open air, and had its seats looking towards the sea. They were listening to one of the plays of which the Greeks were so fond when suddenly they saw ten Roman ships sail close to the harbour of Tarentum. In a rage, they rushed to their ships,

attacked the Romans, and destroyed half of them. So the war began."

Now, there was at that time in a kingdom on the west side of Greece a monarch named Pyrrhus, who wished to do in the West what Alexander had done only about fifty years before in the East. To him the people of Tarentum appealed for help, and, thinking that now the great opportunity of his life had come, he gathered a large army and crossed over to Italy.

At first he won success, but with a heavy loss of men. "A few more such victories," he said, "and I am ruined." Next he sent an ambassador to discuss matters with the senators at Rome. But the "Fathers of the City" said they would never make peace so long as Pyrrhus remained in Italy. "It is useless to fight against Rome," said the messenger upon his return to his master, "for its Senate is an assembly of Kings."

Fighting went on with varying fortune for more than two years, and at last Pyrrhus was beaten, and had to go home again, his dreams of Western conquest at an end. Not long afterwards he met his death while besieging a town in Greece. Rome was now mistress of Italy south of the River Rubicon, to the north of which lay Gaul. And she began to organize her territory, laying down good roads throughout the land, and bringing all the various tribes of Italy under her firm and just laws.

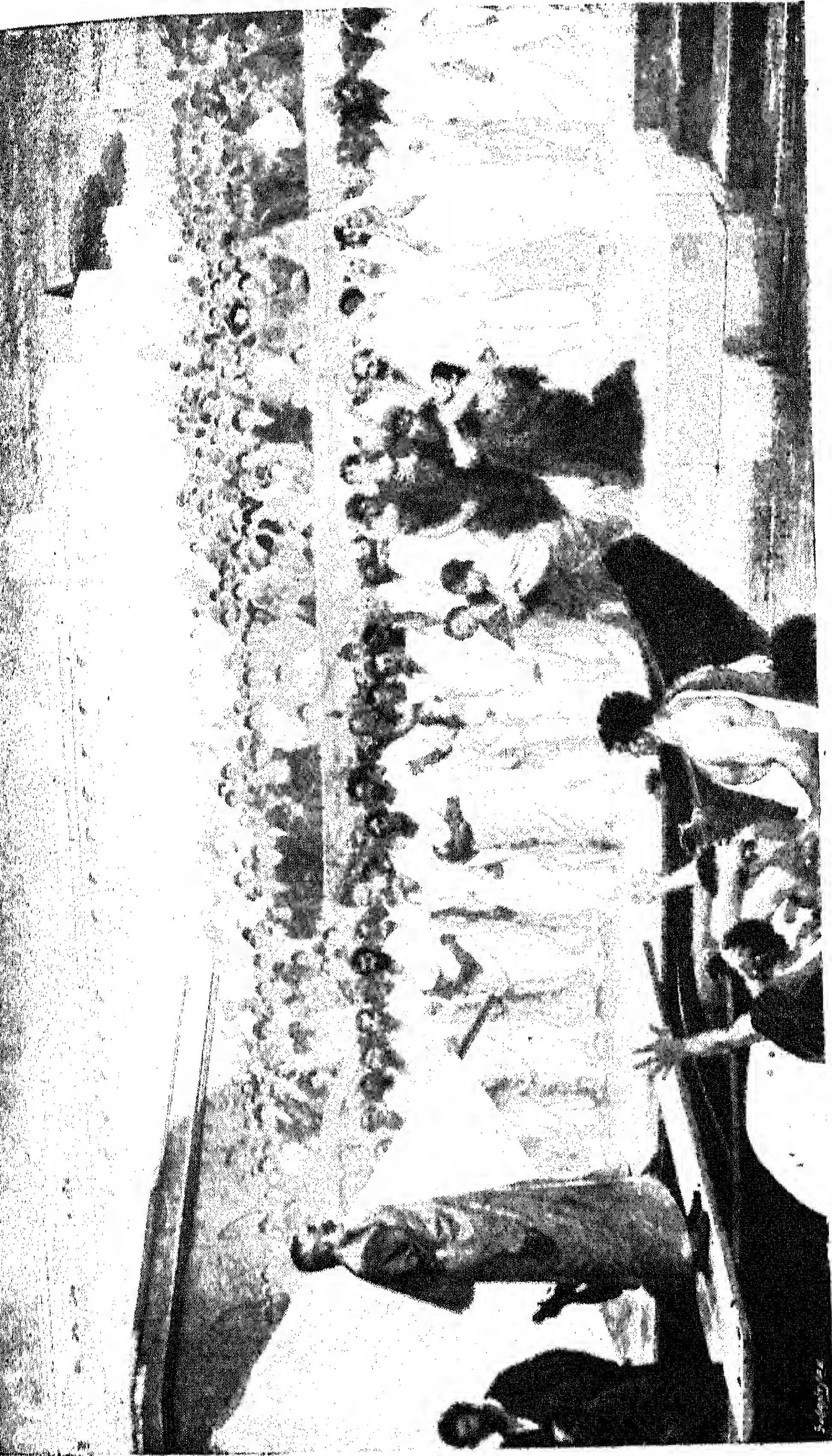
Before many years had gone by Rome began a great struggle with the people of the city of Carthage, the great port on the coast of Africa not far from Sicily. You may remember that this city was very ancient,

having been built by the merchants of Phoenicia some time before the foundation of Rome. The city had been called, because of its commercial supremacy “the London of antiquity.”

In Sicily at that time there were a number of Greek colonies, of which the foremost was the city of Syracuse. The Greek traders were the keen rivals of those of Carthage, and engaged in constant wars with each other. But the time came when they stood shoulder to shoulder against Rome. A number of Italians had settled at Messana in that part of Sicily nearest to Italy, and both Greeks and Carthaginians wished to drive them out. The Romans came to their help, and so the wars between Rome and Carthage began.

Rome had at the time no navy, nor any men prepared to build one. But one day a ship from Carthage was wrecked upon their shores. This they took as a model and in a comparatively short space of time they had a fleet ready for sea. Each ship had a long wooden bridge fastened to the mast with a spike at the end. When it was near enough to one of the enemy's vessels this bridge was allowed to fall, and the Roman soldiers then ran across it and gained a footing on the other vessel.

When the Roman ships had won two victories, an army was sent across to Carthage under a general named Regulus. He was beaten and made a prisoner. The war went on until the Romans won another great victory at sea. Then peace was made by which Rome won Sicily, and was paid a large war indemnity.



THE DEPARTURE OF REGULUS FOR CARTHAGE.

(From the painting by Muccari. Anderson, Photo.)

But both sides only wished for time to prepare for another fierce struggle.

Carthage had at this time a great general named Hamilcar, whose surname was *Barca*, which meant lightning. After the first war with Rome he determined to make careful preparation for the next struggle. So he went to Spain, where the Carthaginians had established colonies, and there engaged in war with the hardy inhabitants, in this way teaching his men how to endure hardships and fight well. He conquered the country as far as the River Tagus, and then died without having had the opportunity of using his veteran army against Rome.

After a while his place as general was taken by his son Hannibal, who at the time was only twenty. This great soldier had been taught from his boyhood to look upon Rome as the deadly enemy of Carthage and the chief purpose of his life was to engage in a struggle with that city. When his father was about to set out on his campaign in Spain he called his son, then only nine years of age, to him, and asked him whether he would like to go to the war. The boy eagerly expressed his desire to do so, and his father then made him swear on the altar of the gods that he would never be the friend of the Roman people. Then the boy set out for the war with his father, and learnt at an early age the lessons of a soldier and a general.

When the second war with Carthage began, Hannibal was in Spain, where his capture of a certain city marked the beginning of the great contest. This was

Greek colony of Saguntum, on the east coast of the peninsula, which appealed to Rome for aid when Hannibal came against it. But the great general took the city, and the Romans sent an ambassador to Carthage to lodge a complaint.

He came before the senators of Carthage holding his gown in his hands as if he were carrying something within its folds. "Choose," he said. "I bring you peace or war." "Give us which you please," was the answer. Then he shook his cloak open, saying, "I give you war." "Let it be so," was the cry; and so the great struggle of seventeen years began.

Hannibal now formed the bold plan of marching an army into Italy. This meant that he would have to cross the Pyrenees in the first place, then the great and swift River Rhone, and, lastly, the lofty Alps. But even these enormous difficulties did not daunt him. He hoped, moreover, to find that when he reached Italy the Gauls to the south of the Alps and the subject tribes of Rome in Italy itself would flock to his standard, and that Rome would then become an easy prey.

Before long he had passed the Pyrenees, and reached the right bank of the Rhone. On the opposite bank were assembled a number of hostile tribes ready to contest his landing. But he sent a body of men to cross the stream higher up, and come down behind them, while he crossed with the main body of his men, and the enemy took fright and fled.

Then began the famous march across the Alps. It is not certain by which of the passes he crossed the great mountain range. It is, however, quite

certain that the passage was a terrible one. As they marched the soldiers were often attacked by the wild tribes of that rocky region, who rolled great stones down upon their heads. The cold was intense, and the mountain-paths were sheeted with ice, so that many of the men slipped over the precipices and were killed. During this part of his momentous march Hannibal is said to have lost twenty-six thousand men more than half his army.

But when he got down into the plains he beat the Romans in two pitched battles, and before long the whole of the northern portion of Italy was in his hands. Then, after beating another Roman army he marched past the city into the southern portion of the country. The Romans sent against him an army twice as large as his own, but he defeated this great force also at the great Battle of Cannæ. So far the Carthaginian had marched triumphant through the country, and it seemed to be only a matter of time before he would be master of Rome.

But the tide had really turned. His army was growing smaller, and no reinforcements came from Carthage. The allies he had made on the march through Italy were beginning to forsake him. At last he found himself unable to advance upon Rome. Yet for no less than twelve years he supported his men in Roman territory, waiting for help from without.

He hoped that his brother Hasdrubal would march from Spain and come to his assistance. This general did actually cross the Alps, and marched down into Italy. But before he could join forces with his brother

was met by a Roman army and defeated. Then the Roman leader cut off the head of Hasdrubal, and had it thrown into his brother's camp. Hannibal now knew that his hopes of conquering Rome were gone.

Then there arose a great Roman general whose name was Scipio, and he proved to be a match for Hannibal. He had fought so well in Spain that the soldiers of Carthage had been driven out of that country, and it had been added to the Roman dominions. He did not march to meet Hannibal as might have been expected, but he crossed over to Africa, and made things so unpleasant for the Carthaginians that they were forced to send for their great general out of Italy.

He came at their call, and soon he and Scipio were forced to face in the great Battle of Zama. There the army of Carthage was so decisively beaten that the war was brought to an end by the Romans naming their own terms. Carthage was deprived of all her foreign possessions. She kept her independence, but was not to be allowed to make war without the consent of Rome. She gave up her navy, her elephants, and all her prisoners. And she agreed to pay to Rome an annual tribute for fifty years.

Hannibal was forced to leave Carthage, and went from country to country seeking service as a soldier with one monarch after another. But all were afraid of Rome, and would not have anything to do with him. And after many years of wandering he took his own life in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

CHAPTER X.—THE EXPANSION OF ROME.

AFTER the great war with Carthage, in which Hannibal played such a prominent part, the Romans went on extending their empire at a very rapid rate. With about ten years every State bordering on the Mediterranean Sea was brought under their rule.

Macedonia, the kingdom where Alexander the Great had begun his career, became subject to Rome. The greater part of Greece had been under the power of this kingdom, and the Romans “freed” the Greek States from the domination under which they had existed for some time. But in reality this meant that Greece passed more or less under the power of Rome.

Then the Romans went to war with Syria, which King had afforded shelter to Hannibal; and in the end this kingdom also, including Asia Minor, became part of their growing empire. After a few years Greece passed completely under the domination of Rome, and about this time an attack was made upon the city of Carthage, of which Rome was still very jealous and not a little afraid.

The people of Carthage knew they would have no chance in a struggle with Rome, so they placed themselves at her mercy. They were at once ordered to select three hundred boys as hostages, and send them to the Roman general. This they did. Then, having also given up their arms, they learnt what Roman mercy meant for them. They were to leave their city altogether, and settle somewhere else ten miles from the sea. This was beyond endurance.

“Driven into passionate despair by this cruel decree, they resolved at last to resist. The whole city was turned into a workshop of arms, in which men and women in relays laboured night and day ; and a vast number of shields, swords, catapults, and missiles were turned out each day, the women even cutting off their hair to be twisted into cords for their engines. But all was in vain. After a heroic resistance lasting nearly three years the city fell.”

The Romans blocked up the mouth of the harbour, and then made what proved to be their final assault on the city. After a desperate struggle the place was surrendered, burnt, and dismantled. So fell the great maritime rival of Rome. The proud city on the “yellow Tiber” was now mistress of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, and that portion of Asia which, as we have seen, was the cradle of the great empires of the world. The Mediterranean Sea had become a Roman lake. But in due time the power of Rome was to extend still further.

We must pause for a moment to consider the fall of one of these States which had become politically subject to Rome—the land of the Greeks, which Alexander had once raised to the foremost place among the nations.

The Romans overthrew the Grecian power. They took possession of the Greek cities. They exacted tribute from the Greeks to enrich their own treasuries. They pressed large numbers of Greek fighting-men into their service. But in course of time the Greeks and their civilization conquered the Romans. In the matter of intellect the conquered people were supreme,

and they did not lose this supremacy, though the glorious cities might be levelled to the ground.

The Romans conquered—outwardly, at least—by means of their military power, their matchless generalship, their perseverance, and their unity. But in course of time the Greeks were the real conquerors for they took possession of the thought and intellect of Rome, the “middle of the world”; and the boast of Roman sway was made the means of spreading over the whole of the civilized world the art, philosophy, history, and science which had their origin in the sun-les of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Greeks swarmed over the sea to Rome—“painters and sculptors and engravers, workers in metal of every kind, physicians and surgeons, artists with every kind of musical instrument, actors and singers, astrologers and teachers of every known science from grammar to cookery.”

To imitate the Greeks became in due time the fashion in the great metropolis. The young Roman nobles gathered round them Greek philosophers and teachers who lived upon their patron’s bounty, and spread the knowledge which was at once the wonder and admiration of the conquerors of the world. The Roman poets imitated Greek models, and there arose a class of Roman writers of plays who followed closely in their works the form and spirit of the ancient dramas of Greece.

So, although Greece fell before Rome, the Greeks were in one respect the more lasting conquerors.

Now, from about this time—that is, some hundred

and fifty years before the birth of Christ—we can trace the slow but steady disruption of the empire of the Romans. They were yet to win still greater triumphs, and spread their power over lands which had hitherto been hidden in the darkness of barbarism. But they were not now the strong and simple-minded race who had peopled the city on the Tiber in the earliest days of her glorious history. What was wrong?

Their great success seemed to have changed the character of the Romans. Many of them now appeared to think that their great efforts lay behind them, and that now the chief object in life was to win wealth and use it as a means of selfish enjoyment. Even the spread of knowledge by the Greeks did not make the Romans great. They learnt from these clever people much that was good, but as they became less simple-minded, they seemed to grow weaker in the manly virtues of simple living and hardihood for which they had been distinguished.

There was one man, named Marcus Cato, who tried to live and make his children live as the people of Rome had done in the days of her truest greatness. He believed in cultivating the mind, but he also believed in making strong the body and soul at the same time. He was by profession a lawyer, and when his day's work was over he "would return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock if it was winter, and almost naked if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and eat the same kind of bread and drink the same wine."

Cato attained in time to the office of Censor, which was the highest in the State, and one for which he seemed to be specially suited, for it gave him, among other great powers, the right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. He used his authority to impress upon the people the necessity for living simply and fitting themselves to bear hardship ; and his word and actions had a certain amount of effect upon them though they did not make any great effort to alter their ways. The rich went on growing richer, and the poor growing poorer. Slaves were introduced from the lands which Rome had conquered, and the number of free and independent workers became gradually smaller. There was always in the city a large crowd of people who lived for the most part on charity, and were a standing danger to the State.

Then there arose two noble Romans, who tried to make things better. These were the brothers Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of a man " who had been once honoured with the censorship and twice with the consulate, but yet derived still greater dignity from his personal virtues." The mother, Cornelia, was no less worthy, and she brought up her two sons with the greatest care. We can judge of her temper and nobility of mind by her reply to those who came to condole with her on the death of her two noble sons : " The woman who had the Gracchi for sons cannot be considered unfortunate."

On one occasion a Roman lady was showing Cornelia all her jewels, which were very costly and numerous. Then the matron called for her two little sons, and



A ROMAN FISHERMAN.

(From a statue in the British Museum.)

when they came to her, she placed her arms about them, and said quietly : “ These are *my* jewels.”

Tiberius Gracchus entered the army, and distinguished himself as a general in a war in Spain. Then he came to Rome determined to do what he could to set right some of the abuses in the State. He saw that many of those who formed the rabble of Rome needed to be set to work, and to have their self-respect restored to them. So he proposed to divide the public lands which were wrongly used by the nobles, among the poorer people, and so to establish as many of them as could be provided for as small farmers.

This caused great commotion among the nobles, as we might expect, and very fierce was their enmity against the reformer. They had in their pay a large part of the Roman rabble, including a considerable number of foreign slaves ; and when the disputes over the land law of Tiberius were going on, these people raised a riot, during which the would-be reformer was slain.

Some years after his death his brother, Caius Gracchus, made an attempt to work out the plans of Tiberius, in spite of the entreaties of his mother not to place himself in personal danger. He wished to take from the nobles all share in the government, and to make the people supreme, with himself as their leader. Naturally, this soon led to riots and disorder, and Caius eventually met the fate of his brother ; and after his death the nobles ruled in Rome as they pleased. In order to gain the favour of the Roman crowd, they distributed food among them.

A State in which such things could be done was well on the way to decline. So we see how, as soon as she had become mistress of the world, and had ceased to practise the manly virtues, Rome began to fall from her high position. The fall of the Gracchi had proved that Rome could not be helped by law-making. Soon the city was to obtain new masters, who would rule by the power of the sword.

A certain soldier named Marius rose from the ranks to be a general in the army, and made himself very popular with the soldiers. In due time he was elected Consul, and thus a great military chief became also the civil ruler. The danger of this arrangement was that the Consul might use his power as general to force the people to his will, and make himself supreme in the State. This did really happen at a later date, as we shall see.

CHAPTER XI.—JULIUS CÆSAR.

WE have now reached the period in Roman history which falls about a century before the birth of Christ. About this time Italy and Rome began to be threatened by a new danger. Between the Alps and the Baltic there lived the uncivilized tribes of the Germans, and they began at this period to move southward, seeking new homes in the more settled parts of Europe. This was the beginning of a great movement of these tribes which was destined in due time to sweep away the Roman power, as we shall see later.

They came in great hordes, numbering hundreds of thousands, laying waste the lands in their path. They defeated two great armies, overran Gaul, where the Romans had made conquests in the valley of the Rhone, and then marched into Spain. There they met with a check, and then they turned aside to swoop down upon Italy. The Roman general Marius met a great army of them at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix*), and after two days' severe fighting, defeated them with great slaughter. In the next year Marius defeated another great horde of the invaders near Verona.

He was now the foremost man in the Roman State. "Had he died on the day of his triumph," writes a historian, "then his memory would have been glorious and blessed." But it was not long before he fell from his high position. Another leader of the Romans named Sylla, became his rival, and in the struggle for power which followed Rome and Italy were plunged into the horrors of civil war.

From this time of trouble Sylla rose triumphant and became the chief man in the State. At last he got himself made Dictator, caused large numbers of those who opposed him to be put to death without trial, and made such changes in the government that the control of affairs passed out of the hands of the people.

At this time there was living in Italy a young Roman just verging upon manhood, who was destined to become in due time the master of the Roman Empire.

* Which lay a few miles almost due north of the Greek colony of Massilia, on the site of which Marseilles now stands.

and one of the most famous men in the world's history. This was Julius Cæsar. Let us pause for a few moments to get some definite ideas of the appearance and character of this great man. An early historian writes of him :

“His lofty stature and finely-moulded limbs imparted to his person a grace which distinguished him from all others. His eyes were dark, his glance penetrating, his complexion colourless, and his nose straight and somewhat thick. His face was full—at least, in youth—but in the busts which were made towards the close of his life his features are thinner, and bear the traces of fatigue.

“His voice was sonorous and vibrating, his gesture noble, and an air of dignity pervaded his whole person. His frame, which at first was delicate, grew robust by sober living, and by his habit of exposing himself to the weather. Accustomed in his youth to manly exercises, he was a bold horseman ; and he supported with ease privations and fatigues. His gown was ornamented with fringes to the hands, and was bound round the loins by a sash loosely knotted, a fashion which marked the elegant youth of the time. But Sylla was not deceived by this show of frivolity, and was wont to say that people should have an eye on that young man with the flowing sash.”

At this same time another prominent Roman named Pompey was also beginning to make a name for himself. He rendered great service to the Roman world by sweeping the Mediterranean free of the pirates who had for a long time been the terror of the traders.

Then he fought with great success in Asia and in Syria, and captured Jerusalem. After these victorious campaigns he returned to Rome, and was given a "triumph," which lasted for two days, and was unsurpassed for splendour. "Pompey brought to the city from his expeditions a crowd of captive Kings, Queens, and Princes; he himself rode in a chariot blazing with jewels, and was as magnificently dressed as Alexander the Great, while the trophy above his head was haughtily inscribed *Over the whole world.*"

Cæsar was at this time about forty years of age. He had already proved his ability as a statesman and Pompey's great success filled him with a burning desire to win fame as a general. So he went a Governor to part of Spain, where he spent his leisure time in reading accounts of the campaigns of Alexander, and showed his skill as a general in several expeditions. At a later date he marched at the head of an army into Gaul, which he completely subdued. Then he twice visited Britain, as our own history-books tell us, and fought also against the Germans who lived to the east of Gaul.

It was in this work as a Roman general that Cæsar proved his greatness. He took his share of the dangers of the campaigns, and seemed to be an entire stranger to fatigue. He often slept upon the march, either in a litter or in his chariot. He was an excellent horseman, and sometimes wrote his letters while riding. His men were ready to make any efforts under a leader who knew not only how to win success by his excellent generalship, but also how to reward with open-handed

generosity the efforts of his men. Before one engagement, we are told, he sent away his horse in order to show that he would take his own share of the danger in which his foot-soldiers might be involved.

“Cæsar was busy in conquering Gaul,” writes a historian, “but he never lost sight of things in Rome at the same time. He was a skilful general, and a great writer as well, and has left us his own account of his wars in Gaul, where he was beloved by the Roman soldiers and also by the natives of the land. He was kind to those that he conquered, yet he always took care that they should be thoroughly beaten. Cæsar made roads in Gaul, and brought in Roman ideas and Roman customs, and also taught all his officers to deal kindly with the Gauls. In this way he succeeded in making those of the Gauls who were not killed or made slaves quite content to be ruled by the Romans. Though he was only there ten years altogether, and when he left he took his army with him, still the Gauls did not rebel against Rome.”

As you have already been reminded, Cæsar came twice to Britain, and he has left in his writings an account of the people of our land about half a century before the birth of Christ. “The island,” he writes, “is well peopled, full of houses, and abounds in cattle. The people use brass money and iron rings of a certain weight. The provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those on the coast iron, but the latter in no great quantity. All kinds of wood grow here except the fir and beech tree.

“The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and

the cold less intense. The island is triangular, one of the sides facing Gaul. The extremity towards Kent, whence is the nearest passage to Gaul, lies eastward; the other stretches south-west. The people of Kent, which lies wholly on the sea-coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manner from the Gauls. The greater part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. They are long-haired, and shave the face except the upper lip."

Such is what we might call the introduction of our country to the history of Europe. When our islands and people were for the most part wild and uncivilized, the Romans were learned, wealthy, and powerful. A long time was to elapse before the people of the islands of Britain were to take a place among the leading nations of Europe. The visits of Cæsar brought our country within the circle of civilization. As we shall see in the course of our story, they were destined in due time to stand at the very centre.

We must not forget that Cæsar had not gone to Gaul merely to conquer the land for Rome. With a view to making himself master of the Roman world, he was busily engaged in doing all he could to win the favour of his legions. Meanwhile he shared with Pompey and another famous Roman the chief power of the State, but after awhile, as he had foreseen, he

and Pompey became rivals. Thus the time came, only five years after his visit to Britain, when Cæsar had need of his well-drilled army.

Pompey had stayed in Rome while Cæsar was in Gaul, and it was quite clear that he wished to be head of the State. He got himself elected sole Consul, and Cæsar was called upon by the Senate to resign his command by a certain date. This led directly to civil war. Cæsar marched into Italy with his legions; Pompey fled to Greece, whither Cæsar followed him, after having been chosen Dictator. A great battle took place at Pharsalia, in which Pompey was decisively beaten. He fled to Egypt, where he was murdered. Cæsar was now master of the Roman world, and was made perpetual Dictator. Yet in the short space of four years he met with his death.

He wished to make himself, if not in name, at least in reality, King or Emperor of the Roman State, and before long his plans for the government were apparent to the chief men of the city. Under the leadership of Brutus, the bosom friend of Cæsar, a plot was formed for putting an end to his life, and so saving the liberty of Rome. It was arranged that the deed should be done in the Senate-house on the 15th of March, in the year 44 B.C. Let us read an account of the famous scene from the pen of an old writer :

“When Cæsar entered the house, the Senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus’s party came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede with a certain Metellus Cimber for the recall of his brother from exile. He gave them a

positive denial ; and as they continued their entreaties with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack.

“ Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous. Cæsar therefore turned upon him and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, ‘ Villain ! Casca ! What dost thou mean ? ’ and the other in Greek, to his brother, ‘ Brother, help ! ’

“ After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the plot were seized with consternation and horror insomuch that they durst neither fly nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner that, whichever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they had all agreed to have a share in the deed. Therefore Brutus gave him a stroke in the groin. It is said that he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the weapon of Brutus ; then he drew his robe over his face and yielded to his fate.

“ Either by accident, or pushed thither by the plotters, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey’s statue, and dyed it with his blood. He received not less than three-and-twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other as they were aiming their blows at him.



BEFORE PHILIPPI (see Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Act IV., Sc. iii.).

(From a print after R. Westall.)

“ Brutus then advanced to speak to the Senate, but they could not bear to hear him ; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses ; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion ; one was running to see the spectacle, another running back. Cæsar’s principal friends withdrew and hid themselves in other people’s houses. Meanwhile Brutus and his friends, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body, with their bloody swords in their hands, from the Senate-house to the Capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them and mingled with their train.”

On the day of Cæsar’s funeral an oration was made over his body by his friend Mark Antony, who so stirred up the people against Brutus and his friends that they were forced to leave Rome. After a time Cæsar’s adopted son, Octavius, then a mere boy of eighteen, succeeded to the place and power of the dead Dictator. Brutus had gathered together a large army in Macedonia, and at Philippi he was met by the friends of Cæsar and completely defeated. He committed suicide after the battle by falling upon his own sword.

In the short space of twelve years Octavius was master of Rome, with the military title of Imperator, which we translate into English as Emperor.

CHAPTER XII.—THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

OCTAVIUS, the first Roman Emperor, was, as we have already seen, the adopted son of Julius Cæsar. His own name was Caius Octavius, but he took the name of his father by adoption, and became known as Caius Julius Cæsar Octavius. When he had made himself Imperator, or Emperor, he got the Senate to confer upon him the title of Augustus, which is almost equivalent to our expression, "His Majesty." Of all these names and titles, the most important to remember are Cæsar and Augustus, for each Roman Emperor after him, whatever his private name might be, was known officially as Cæsar Augustus. The first of the long line of Roman Emperors avoided such titles as King and Prince, as he knew they were not liked by the Romans. Even his title of Imperator only meant in the first place that he was head of the army, or, as we should say, Commander-in-Chief.

Before he became Emperor he had added to the Roman world the ancient kingdom of Egypt. This country was under the rule of Queen Cleopatra, who helped Antony against Octavius when the two became rivals for the chief power after the death of Julius Cæsar. The quarrel was settled in the sea-fight of Actium, off the west coast of Greece, at which the Queen of Egypt was herself present. During the battle the Queen's ship took to flight, and Antony followed her. He sailed for Egypt, and, having landed, heard that the Queen was dead. This was not true, but the news had such an

effect upon him that he killed himself. The Queen fell into the hands of Octavius, but she ended her own life by causing herself to be stung by an asp or serpent which had been sent to her in a basket of fruit. After this Egypt became a Roman province.

The boundaries of the Roman State under its first Emperor were, in Europe, the two great rivers of the Rhine and Danube ; in Asia, the Euphrates and the sandy desert of Syria ; in Africa, the wide desert now known as the Sahara. It thus included practically the whole of the civilized world. After a while, as our English history-books tell us, part of our own island were included in the Empire ; but it never embraced the lands of the Germans, from whence were to come in the fulness of time the new lords of Rome and its world-wide empire.

During the reign of the first Augustus the Empire reached to a great height of power and glory. The Emperor was in every respect a great and capable ruler, and he applied himself to the work of government in a way which proved that he was the man needed at this crisis of Roman history to bring order out of chaos. He gave great encouragement to men of letters, and some of the most famous Roman writers flourished in his reign. One of the most renowned was Virgil, who wrote in honour of the Emperor his great poem of the *Æneid*, in which he tries to prove that Julius Cæsar was descended from Æneas, the Trojan Prince who laid the foundations of the Roman State. Our own poet Tennyson refers to this great Roman poet, who was born near Mantua, in the lines :

“I salute thee, Mantuovano,
I that loved thee since my day began;
Wielder of the stateliest measure
Ever moulded by the lips of man.”

Among other great writers of the time were the poet Horace and the historian Livy.

Near the end of the reign of Augustus an event happened which is important in the history of the making of Europe. We have already spoken of the German tribes who lived east of the Rhine and south of the Baltic. They called themselves Deutschen—that is, “the people”—and the Romans changed this name into Teutons. Now, there rose up among them a powerful chieftain named Hermann, or Arminius, who reminds us in many ways of our own Caractacus at a later time.

He is said to have been a man of great strength and noble mien, ready and quick in action, yet wary and careful. He served for some time in the Roman army, and visited Rome itself. At the age of twenty-five he returned to his native land, fired with the idea of uniting all the German tribes against the encroaching power of Rome.

It was in the year 9 A.D. that Hermann struck his first great blow at the dreaded power of Rome. The leader of the Emperor's legions in Germany was a general named Varus. His army was marching through the Teutoberger Forest, when it was set upon by the old German tribes, who took the Romans completely by surprise.

The Germans were perfectly familiar with their sur-

roundings ; the Romans were in a strange country—forest-lands and rough mountain passes swept by the autumn winds and rains. For three days the fight continued. The brave, well-disciplined Romans faced over and over again the fierce onsets of the half-clad Germans, who swept down the mountain side with impetuous force, chanting their war-songs, and fired by the knowledge that they were struggling for what they held most dear—their liberty and native land. The victory fell to the patriots, and the blow inflicted upon the “invincible” fighting-men struck terror to the heart of the Roman Emperor, whose bitter cry for months was: “Oh, Varus, Varus, give me back my legions !”

Hermann fought successfully against the Romans several times after this great victory, and at last they gave up the attempt to subdue Germany. Then the heroic leader fell a victim to the jealousy of other German chieftains, and died by the hand of one of his relatives. “He was undoubtedly,” says a Roman historian, “the liberator of Germany, having dared to grapple with the Roman power, not in its beginnings, like other kings and commanders, but in its strength.”

Augustus died in the year 14 A.D. On his death-bed he asked his attendants whether he had acted well the comedy of his life. The question shows us clearly the character of the man. Julius Caesar was frank and open-hearted. Augustus was an actor in all that he did. But he was nevertheless the man needed by Rome at the time, and there is no doubt that he acted his part well. The Emperors immediately following him were men of a different stamp. One, named Caligula, was a madman, whose weak mind had been

unhinged by his great elevation. It is said that he had the Roman ships placed together in a certain bay, and then covered over with planks on which earth was laid. Then he rode along these planks, in order that he might be able to boast that he had ridden on horseback on the sea. He also made his horse a Roman Consul!

A later Emperor named Nero was also undoubtedly mad, but, unfortunately, his madness found expression in most awful cruelty. He was the cause, direct or indirect, of the deaths, of a large number of people, including his own mother, whose crimes had placed him on the throne, his wife, the tutor of his boyhood, and one of the leading poets of Rome. During his reign a great fire broke out in Rome, which destroyed more than half the city, and it is said that while the fire was raging the Emperor amused himself with music. A report went abroad that he was the originator of the fire, and, to divert suspicion from himself, he accused the Christians of Rome, and had many of them put to death by fire.

Who were these Christians? The first followers of Jesus Christ, who had spent His life in the Roman province of Syria, east of the Mediterranean, during the reign of the first two Emperors, and had suffered death as a malefactor at the hands of the Roman soldiers. It would be interesting to read again at this point the story of the life of Christ, so as to connect it with the course of world-history which we are tracing. For all Christian nations this is the story of stories, before which all accounts of the splendour of the Roman Empire fade into nothing. But we must not

forget that the tragedy of the Cross took place in an obscure corner of the Roman Empire; and in the minds of the few people of the day who happened to hear of it, the event had little interest and no significance.

Yet that quiet life of teaching and helpfulness, with its bitter end in the Garden of Gethsemane and on the cross of Calvary, was, if the Roman world had but known it, of infinitely greater importance than the doings of any proud Emperor of Rome. For the obscure life and death of the Carpenter of Nazareth were destined to change the face of the world, and to influence men's lives and hearts as nothing else has done either before or since.

If you turn back to the first chapter of this book, you will see that the great image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream was overthrown and broken in pieces by a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, and that this stone then grew and filled the whole earth. Some Christian teachers have naturally seen in this a figure of the spiritual kingdom of Christ, which from small beginnings was to grow and grow until it filled the whole earth, and to flourish when the pomp and splendour of the ancient world-empires had passed away for ever.

Others see in the story a kind of prophecy of the time when no power should claim to rule the whole world; when the idea of world-empire should fall before the idea of nationality, which is that each group of people living close together, and united by a common language, common interests, and a common religion, should form itself into a compact nation composed of people ready to stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of each other.



MARCUS AURELIUS.

(From a statue in the Capitol at Rome. Anderson photo.)

Be that as it may, the fact remains that with the rise of Christianity we begin a new era in the history of the world. Even the numbering of the years marks the transition. From the birth of Christ we begin afresh, and each succeeding year is known as "the year of our Lord." The death of Christ took place during the reign of Tiberius, the immediate successor of Augustus, and we shall find in the story of the Crucifixion references to Rome and its Emperor. In the reign of Nero it is said that the Apostle Peter made his way to Rome, and there met his death during the persecutions under that Emperor. St. Paul also is believed by some to have perished at the same time.

At this time the Romans had lost all belief in their old gods, and were, as a whole, a people without any religion at all. "They had reached," writes a historian, "to a state of indifference to actual life and a future state, and were weighed down with gloom. In the midst of this darkness a still small voice was heard out of the East: 'Come unto Me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' and after a while the same voice was heard saying: 'God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, to the end that all who believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life'; and again, a Roman citizen of Tarsus cried: 'This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be believed, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.'"

"There was rest, then, for the weary and heavy-laden; there was a God, too, and life everlasting, for those who believed in Him and His Son, who had come

into the world to save men from themselves ; and so the new teaching came to Rome. In that sluggish mass the leaven was hid that was to throw the whole world into ferment ; into that dark soil a grain of seed was cast that was to grow into a stately tree overshadowing the earth. The teaching spread at first, as we may readily suppose, among slaves, whose weary lot was consoled with the thought that the Founder of their religion had expired on the bitter cross reserved for them ; then, gradually, among other classes, but especially the Asian Greeks and other foreigners, with which Rome was full, until, after much persecution and many relapses, it reached the highest class of all, and Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire."

But before this happened the Christian religion had to be tried literally " by fire, as silver is tried." There were to be imprisonments, mockeries, stonings, torments, death in many hideous forms to be endured by the followers of the Carpenter of Nazareth. The little companies of Christians were forced to meet in secret, and at times they were hunted like wild beasts from place to place. Many were made prisoners and thrown to the lions in the Coliseum of Rome.

This great building was completed in the reign of the Emperor Titus. Its extent and splendours have been described by many historians. It was used as a place of amusement for the people of Rome. From its tiers of seats they watched the combats of the gladiators, chariot races, and naval exhibitions, the arena being converted for the time into an immense lake,

and at times gloated over the sickening spectacle of the slaughter of Christian men and women by wild beasts.

In the reign of Titus there occurred a great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which resulted in the destruction of two cities—Herculaneum and Pompeii—which were situated near the base of the mountain. The cities were overwhelmed and completely buried by the stream of lava from the burning mountain and the shower of stones and ashes which fell upon them. Most of the people were either suffocated by the sulphur fumes, or killed by the deadly shower, or overwhelmed by the burning lava. Eighteen hundred years later the buried cities were unearthed.

In his *Last Days of Pompeii*, Lord Lytton tries to give the reader some idea of the life lived by the people in one of these cities just before the time when the great catastrophe occurred; and, speaking of the excavations so long afterwards, he tells how “the city was disinterred from its silent tomb, all vivid with undimmed hues; its walls fresh as if painted yesterday—not a hue faded on the rich mosaic of its floors—in its Forum the half-finished columns as left by the workman’s hand—in its gardens the sacrificial tripod—in its halls the chest of treasure—in its theatre the counter of admission—in its saloons the furniture and the lamp—in its chambers the fragments of the last feast—in its bedrooms the perfumes and the rouge of the faded beauty, and everywhere the bones and skeletons of those who had once moved the springs of that minute yet gorgeous machine of luxury and of life.”

In a room in one of the temples, we are told, there

was found a huge skeleton with an axe beside it ; two of the walls of the chamber had been pierced by the axe. Then the victim had, overcome probably by the sulphur fumes, sunk down to die. Near a gateway was found the skeleton of a Roman soldier with one hand raised to his head, as though to ward off some threatening danger. He was plainly a sentinel who had died at his post.

Meanwhile, in far-away Britain, the Romans were beginning in earnest to carry out the design of Julius Cæsar, and add this " utmost corner of the West " to their great Empire. In the year following the destruction of these two cities a Roman general named Julius Agricola set out for this country, and began the campaigns by which the whole of Southern Britain was eventually subdued. Agricola penetrated even to the rocky Grampian lands of what is now Scotland, and there defeated a great army of tribesmen under the brave chief Galgacus.

The work of conquest went on under later Emperors. One of them named Hadrian came himself to Britain, and superintended the building of the great wall across the country which was set up to keep out the wild tribes of the North from Southern Britain. Hadrian travelled to all parts of his Empire, and was the first ruler of Rome who seemed to realize to the full that he was also ruler of the world.

In the year 161 A.D. began the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who has been described as the noblest character of his time, a man of elevated mind and spotless virtue. He left behind him a book called his

Meditations, which shows him to have had a lofty ideal of manhood, almost as high as that of the Christians themselves. Yet he was not a great ruler, being strangely enough, not so good a judge of men as many an Emperor of less exalted virtue. During his reign the nations of the North began to press forward within the borders of the Empire, which they were destined in the fulness of time to overwhelm completely.

About a hundred years after the time of Aurelian there began the last and worst persecution of the Christians, who had been growing in numbers and strength in spite of the dangers and trials of their lives. This persecution occurred under an Emperor named Diocletian. An edict was issued ordering the Christian Churches to be thrown to the ground, while all the service-books, Scripture records, and other writings in the possession of the leaders of the Christian Churches were to be given up to the Emperor's officers and publicly burnt. In this way those who were responsible for the order hoped to stamp out the religion of Christ once and for all.

The property of the Churches was made over to the imperial treasury. The Christians were to be absolutely forbidden to meet together for purposes of worship. If any imperial officer, magistrate, or official had been baptized as a Christian, he was at once to lose his post. The poorer Christians were to forfeit the rights of Roman citizenship, and thus lose the protection of the law. Anyone might rob, torture, or kill them without fear of punishment.

A large number of Christians were actually put to

death in various ways. Some were crucified like the Master whom they served; others were burnt at the stake. Some were thrown into a lake with heavy stones tied round their necks. Yet this time of fierce persecution was only the prelude to a mighty triumph of the Christian faith. It was the deep darkness before the dawn.

We come now to a parting of the ways, and the end of the unity of the Roman Empire. Up to this time Rome had been the "middle of the world," the centre of government and social life in the State. And of this great and wealthy city the Caesars were the absolute masters. Whatever they willed was done. "Splendour unparalleled surrounded them in their daily life; their palaces were as large as cities, their villas covered whole provinces, they sat on thrones of gold, they melted pearls in wantonness in their wine."

But now, so great was the extent of the unwieldy Empire, Diocletian decided that there ought to be two rulers, one living in the East and the other in the West. This plan, however, led only to confusion, and when he gave up the imperial rule there was civil war for twenty years, caused by the conflicting claims of the various aspirants to the throne of the Caesars. In the end the sole power passed into the hands of Constantine, who became Emperor, and finally divided the Empire into two parts, East and West. We are carried back once again in thought to the vision of the Great King's dream, in which the two legs of the image may be said to foreshadow the division of the Empire of which we are now to read.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE DIVISION AND DECLINE
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CONSTANTINE was in our own island of Britain when he became Emperor, and it was at York that he was proclaimed by the troops which he had led in Caledonia as Cæsar and Augustus. But there were others who claimed to wear the imperial purple, and it was only after about seventeen years of strife that he firmly established his position as sole Emperor of the Romans.

The new Emperor was in many respects worthy of his high position, and has become known in history as Constantine the Great. "His figure was tall and majestic," writes a great historian; "he was dexterous in all his exercises, intrepid in war, affable in peace; in his whole conduct the active spirit of youth was tempered by habitual prudence, and while his mind was filled with ambition, he appeared cold and insensible to the allurements of pleasure."

Two important events mark the reign of this Emperor as a turning-point in history. One was his recognition of the religion of the Christians. The other was the removal of the capital of the Empire from Rome to the Eastern city which now bears his name, Constantinople.

Before he became sole Emperor, Constantine published an order restoring to the Christians of Rome and Italy the rights which had been taken from them in that time of trouble of which we read in our last

chapter. Their churches and property were to be given back to them, and they were to be free to worship God in their own way. Thus the Emperor carried out the desires of his father, a Roman general who fought in Britain, and who was favourable to the Christians even at the time when they were suffering torture and death. The Emperor's mother, Helena, was herself a Christian, and at the advanced age of eighty she went to Palestine, where it is said she assisted in the finding of the identical cross on which Christ was crucified.

At a later date Constantine also became a Christian, after a striking occurrence, of which Gibbon, the historian, speaks in the following words: "In one of the marches of Constantine he is said to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun, and inscribed with the following words: BY THIS CONQUER. This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army, as well as the Emperor himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion; but his astonishment was converted into faith by the vision of the following night. Christ appeared before his eyes, and displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, He directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march with an assurance of victory against all his enemies."

After this a new standard was made in the form of a cross. From the transverse beam was hung a silken banner, on which were worked the portraits of the chief members of the imperial family. At the top of the cross was a crown of gold, encircling the monogram

of Christ. The keeping of this sacred standard, which was known as the LABARUM, was entrusted to fifty picked guards, who ranged themselves about it; and the belief soon spread among the imperial soldiers that while this standard was in the forefront of the battle victory was assured to their arms—a belief which doubtless nerved them to many deeds of desperate valour.

Although Constantine allowed those who were not followers of Christ to go on paying worship to whatever gods they adored, his own conversion caused large numbers throughout the Empire to become Christians, so that we may truly say that the once despised religion became in time that of the civilized world. On the spot in Rome where it was said that St. Peter had suffered death as a Christian martyr a church, named after him, was erected. At a later date it was pulled down to make room for the great cathedral of St. Peter.

We must now pause to ask ourselves the question, Why did Constantine remove the capital of his Empire from Rome, the “middle of the world,” to Constantinople, which seemed to be on the outskirts of civilization? We must not forget, however, that the Roman power extended beyond Europe, through Asia Minor, almost to the head of the Persian Gulf, as well as over Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; and a glance at a map will show us that the new capital had at that time some claim to a central position. It commanded both Europe and Asia. Besides, the Empire was now threatened by wild tribes from North-Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and it was necessary that there



THE VISION OF CONSTANTINE.

(From the painting by Raphael in the Vatican.)

should be at this point a strong outpost against them.

Here, then, Constantine determined to found a great city, which should hand down his own name to future ages. The site was well chosen; the climate of the place was healthy and temperate; the soil of the surrounding districts was very productive; the harbour of the *Golden Horn* was capacious, secure, and convenient, while its approaches could be readily closed against a hostile fleet.

The city was, therefore, built after the Roman fashion, with theatres, baths, granaries, reservoirs, churches, palaces, and fine houses for the richer part of the population. Many wealthy men living in Rome and other great cities of the Empire were persuaded by Constantine to make their homes in his new capital. Servants, workmen, and traders followed the rich men in order to minister to their wants, and before long the new imperial centre was a busy place of commerce, industry, and political activity. In about a hundred years—a comparatively short time—Constantinople became the equal of Rome in wealth and population.

The city was dedicated in the year 330 A.D., about one thousand years after the founding of Rome. It remained an imperial city for rather more than a thousand years, and at last fell before the Turks, who came from Central Asia; but of this great event we shall read in a later chapter. Constantine intended that it should become the capital of the Roman world, and as the seat of the Emperors, it always kept a more

or less real hold upon the minds of men. But what really happened was this: it became the centre of what was afterwards known as the Eastern Empire, or the Greek Empire, because a large majority of the people who lived in these Eastern lands were Greeks. Rome, on the other hand, became the capital of the Western Empire, or the Empire of the Romans; so that by moving his capital Constantine had taken the first step towards breaking up the original Roman Empire into two great divisions.

As a matter of fact the Roman Empire was now very unwieldy, and had become weaker just because of its greatness. The boundaries of "the world" were gradually being extended, and it was not within the power of any ruler, however great, to control in a real manner all the nations of the earth.

Concerning the dedication of the city, the great historian Gibbon writes: "The Emperor Constantine was careful to instruct the people that it was in obedience to the commands of God that he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople. On the day consecrated to the foundation of the city the Emperor himself, on foot, with a lance in his hand, led the solemn procession, and directed the line which was traced as the boundary of the destined capital, till the growing circumference was observed with astonishment by the assistants, who, at length, ventured to observe that he had already exceeded the most ample measure of a great city. 'I shall still advance,' replied Constantine, 'till He, the invisible Guide, who marches before me, thinks proper to stop.'"

Let us now turn our attention once more to the great city of Rome and the lands round the Mediterranean, of which it still remained the centre, in spite of the removal of the capital to the shores of the Bosphorus. We may still look upon the city on the Tiber as the "middle of the world." And the next great movement that we have to watch is the attack upon the lands of Western Europe, which looked to Rome as their head, by the German tribes of the North, of which we have already learnt a little.

Ever since the time of Julius Caesar the conflict between Germans and Romans had been going on, and the imperial troops had never been able to make much headway against the wild men of the North. We have seen in Chapter XII. how Hermann, the German chieftain, defeated the legions of Varus, and as time went on, the Teutons, as the Romans named the Northern hordes, became more and more threatening to the lands of the Empire. Some of the Emperors tried to ward off the danger by taking large numbers of the Teutons into the imperial service, and so using them as a protection against danger from without, and many of them rose to high positions in the army.

Now, these German tribes were destined in the course of time to overrun the greater part of the Roman Empire, and to found the chief nations of Europe as we know it to-day, including, of course, our own. And it is fitting that we should try at this point to get some clear ideas as to their characteristics and ways of living. We can do so by studying a book written by a famous Roman historian named Tacitus, from one

chapter of which the following passages have been translated. It is well for the reader to remember that the historian is here describing our early ancestors, for it was from among the tribes of Germany that the Angles and Saxons who conquered and peopled our own island originally sprang.

“All have fierce blue eyes,” writes Tacitus, “red hair, and huge frames, fit only for sudden exertion. They are not well fitted to bear laborious work. Heat and thirst they cannot in the least endure; but to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them.

“Very few use swords or long lances. They carry a spear with a narrow and short head, but so sharp and easy to wield that the same weapon serves for close or distant conflict. As for the horse-soldier, he is satisfied with a shield and spear; the foot-soldiers also scatter showers of missiles, each man hurling them to an immense distance, and being naked or lightly clad with a little cloak. There is no display about their equipment; their shields alone are marked with very choice colours. A few only have corselets, and one or two here and there a metal or leathern helmet.

“Their chief strength is in their infantry, which fights along with the cavalry; their line of battle is drawn up in a wedge-like formation. To give ground, provided you return to the attack, is considered prudence rather than cowardice. The bodies of their slain they carry off even in indecisive engagements. To abandon your shield is the basest of crimes; nor may a man thus disgraced be present at the sacred

rites or enter the council ; many, indeed, after escaping from battle, have ended their disgrace with the halter.

“ They choose their Kings by birth, their generals for merit. These Kings have not unlimited power and the generals do more by example than by authority. If they are energetic, if they are conspicuous, if they fight in the front, they lead because they are admired.

“ They carry into battle certain figures and images taken from their sacred groves. And what most fires their courage is that their squadrons or battalions instead of being formed by chance, are composed of families and clans. Close by them, too, are their dearest to them, so that they hear the shrieks of women, the cries of infants. *They* are to every man the most sacred witnesses of his bravery—*they* are his most generous applauders. The soldier brings his wounds to mother and wife, who shrink not from counting, or even demanding them, and who administer both food and encouragement to the fighters.

“ When an important matter is to be settled, the whole tribe assembles in council. The men come together either at new or full moon ; for this they consider the best time for the transaction of business. When the multitude think proper, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the King or chief is heard, but more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his words displease them, they reject them with murmurs ; if they are satisfied, they brandish their

spears. If they are more pleased than usual, they give their assent by the clash of shield and spear.

“It is not usual for anyone to bear arms till the tribe has recognised his power to use them. In the presence of the council, one of the chiefs, or the young man’s father, equips him with a shield and a spear. Up to this time he is looked upon as a member of a household, afterwards as a member of the commonwealth.

“Young lads even of noble birth attach themselves to the train of great warriors. It is no shame to be seen among a chief’s followers. Even in his escort there are gradations of rank. It is an honour for a chief, as well as a source of strength, to be thus always surrounded by a large body of picked youths; it is an ornament in peace and a defence in war.

“When they go into battle, it is a disgrace for the chief to be surpassed in valour, a disgrace for his followers not to equal the valour of the chief, and it is an infamy and a reproach for life to have survived the chief and returned from the field. To defend, to protect him, to ascribe one’s own brave deeds to his renown, is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; the vassal fights for the chief.

“When the men are not fighting, they pass much of their time in the chase, and still more in idleness, giving themselves up to sleep and to feasting, the bravest and the most warlike doing nothing, and giving up the management of the household to the women, the old men, and the weakest members of the family.

“It is well known that the nations of Germany have no cities, and that they dislike to see houses built

closely together. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them. In their villages every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against fire or because they do not know how to build. No use is made by them of stone or brick ; they employ timber for all purposes. Some parts of their buildings they stain with clay so clear and bright that it resembles painting or a design in colour.

“ No nation indulges more in entertainments and hospitality. To refuse to harbour a human being is thought to be impious ; every German, according to his means, receives his guest at a well-furnished table. When his food has all been eaten, he sets out with his guest for the next house, where both are entertained, though they have come without any invitation from the owner.

“ A liquor for drinking is made out of barley or other grain. Their food is of a simple kind, consisting of wild-fruit, fresh game, and curdled milk. They satisfy their hunger without delicacies. In quenching their thirst, they are not equally moderate. If you indulge their love of drinking by supplying them with as much as they desire, they will be overcome by their own vice as easily as by the arms of an enemy.

“ In their sports, naked youths bound in the dance amid swords and lances that threaten their lives. Experience gives them skill, and skill, again, gives grace ; profit or pay is out of the question ; however reckless their pastime, its reward is the pleasure of the spectators. Strangely enough, they make games of

chance a serious occupation even when sober, and so venturesome are they about gaining or losing, that on the last and final throw they will stake even the freedom of their own persons. The loser goes into voluntary slavery to pay what he calls his debt 'of honour.'

"The land on which they live is divided among them according to rank. A wide expanse of plains makes the division easy. They till fresh fields every year, and still have more lands than enough. They do not exert themselves in planting orchards, inclosing meadows, and watering gardens. Corn is the only produce required from the earth; hence even the year itself is not divided by them into as many seasons as with us. Winter, spring, and summer have both a meaning and a name; the name and blessings of autumn are alike unknown."

Such, then, were the people who were in time destined to inherit the lands of the Roman Empire, and to found, or help to found, the chief nations of the Europe of to-day. They were divided into many tribes, bearing various names, but for our present purpose we shall fix our attention chiefly upon the three known respectively as the Goths, the Lombards, and the Franks, as they had most to do with the breaking-up of the Roman Empire and the founding of the nations of Europe.

The tribe known as the West Goths in time gained a footing within the borders of the Empire, and set up their homes in the lands south of the Danube. They were allowed to do so by the Romans on condition that

they laid down their arms; and they agreed to this because they wished to escape the wild Huns from Asia, who had been harassing them for a long time. But after a time they gained possession of their arms, marched on Constantinople, and slew the Emperor. For some years after this they lived peaceably in their own portion of the Empire. Then came the time when there was one Emperor at Constantinople and another at Rome. The Empire was divided, and it was not long before the western portion fell before the Goths and their kindred tribes. This was at the end of the fourth century.

The King of the West Goths at this time was a young and ambitious man named Alaric. After fighting for some years in various parts of the Empire, he marched at last, in the year 408, up to the walls of Rome. "He came three times in three successive years," writes a historian,* "and twice he retired. The first time he spared the city for an enormous ransom. The second time he imposed on the city and Empire a puppet mock-Emperor, whom a few months afterwards he degraded.

"Alaric's brief, stern words were remembered as well as his deeds. To the hermit who bade him in the name of religion retire from the great city he replied that it was God's will and call that drove him on. To the Romans who threatened him with the numbers of their population, 'The thicker the hay,' was his answer, 'the easier mown.' When, astounded at his enormous demands, the Romans asked him, 'What, then, would

* Dean Church.

he leave them ?' he answered, 'Your lives.' But the third year, 410, the imperial city, the sacred, the inviolate, which had only once seen a foreign enemy from her walls, beheld the amazing sight—her streets, her palaces broken into and sacked by barbarians whom of old she knew only as the slaves who fought with one another to make her sport in her gladiatorial shows."

But, in spite of this capture, Rome did not remain in the hands of the Goths. They retired from the city after the death of Alaric, which happened not long afterwards, and their new King led them into the South of Gaul, where they made their homes, and set up a kingdom of which we shall hear later. The taking of Rome by Alaric, however, is one of the turning-points of history. From that time the German tribes of the North looked upon the rich lands of the Empire as their prey. The spell of the Roman name had been broken, though the barbarians still retained their respect for the Roman arms and the Roman law.

We must now turn aside to consider a movement which for a time threatened to overthrow, not only the Roman power, but also the growing power of the Goths and other German tribes. This was the invasion of Western Europe by the Huns.

Who were the Huns, and whence did they come? Their original home was in the central part of Asia, and they moved westward into Europe in the fourth century. They were for a long time a wandering people, like many of the tribes of Central Asia at the present day. They had very swift horses, and the

men seemed almost to live in the saddle, for they ate their food and sometimes even slept on horseback. Outdoor life and constant exercise had made them very hardy, and they appeared to have lost all sensibility to changes of climate. As a race, they were small of stature, but broad-shouldered and very strong and muscular. They had straight black hair, small eyes, thick lips, and the skin of their faces was like yellow parchment.

These people swarmed into Europe in countless hordes, and settled in the lands north of the Danube. There they founded the kingdom of Hungary, and about forty years after the fall of Rome before the Goths they began to invade the borders of other lands of Western Europe under their King or chieftain Attila, who won for himself the name of the "Scourge of God." He marched into Gaul at the head of a great army, and Roman and Teuton banded together to oppose him.

A great battle took place at Châlons, one of the decisive struggles of world-history, the contest being between civilization and barbarism; for, beside the Huns of that time, the "barbarian" German tribes were highly civilized. The hosts which took part in the fight were enormous, as well as the numbers of the slain. It was the valour of the Goths which decided the fight, and after a furious contest the Huns were forced to retire within the circle of waggons which fortified their camp.

Attila expected that the attack would be renewed on the following day, so he placed his best archers in

front of the waggons, and prepared to make a stout resistance. For himself, he had resolved that no man should boast of the honour of having either captured or slain him. He therefore ordered his men to erect a huge pyramid of the wooden saddles of his cavalry in the centre of the camp. Round it he heaped the spoils and the wealth that he had won ; upon it he placed his wives ; and on the summit he seated himself, ready to perish in the flames should the enemy succeed in taking his camp.

When morning broke, the allied Goths and Romans saw with dismay the full extent of the slaughter which had taken place on the preceding day. Unwilling to cause or suffer further loss of life, they allowed Attila to march away with the remnants of his army.

In the next year the great warrior marched into Italy with another large army, demanding the hand of an imperial Princess in marriage. The Romans were unable to oppose him, and the Emperor, at that time living at Ravenna, sent for help to Pope Leo, who decided to go in person and make an appeal to the triumphant barbarian.

So he set out, dressed in his robes and mitre, and accompanied by attendants carrying the symbols of his holy office. He was a man of great height and awe-inspiring presence, and even the " Scourge of God " was moved and impressed by the visit. At first, it is said, he declared that he intended to march to the very gates of Rome, but the eloquence of the Ambassador prevailed upon him to pause and consider. Then, says the legend, there appeared before him in a vision the

Apostles Peter and Paul, who warned him that instant death would come upon him if he persisted in the course he had planned. Moved by these things, he turned back and left Italy. In the next year he died, and his kingdom fell apart.

He was a great warrior and leader, but his success was due to the weakness and want of unity in the Empire of which Rome was the head. Not many years after he had died, a German Prince deposed the Emperor, and sent the imperial crown and sceptre to Constantinople, as being no longer necessary in the West, which was now the absolute prey of the Teutonic nations. One Emperor was sufficient for the world. As for Italy, he intended, he said, to make it a German kingdom.

This event brings us to the beginning of what is called medieval history—that is, the history of the Middle Ages. It marks the close of the ancient Empire of Rome. And before dealing with the later history of the nations we must pause to take stock of the position of the nations of the world.

* * * * *

Each of the empires of which we have read in the preceding chapters of this book claimed to embrace the whole world, or, at least, that part of the world which was known to civilized nations. We have seen how one world-empire followed upon the ruins of that which preceded it, and how the Empire of the Romans was the greatest and the most powerful of all. It was also the last.

No longer was any ruler to be really lord of the world,

though, as we shall see, many claimed to be so in later days. New and distinct nations were to grow up in Europe, each with its own territory, its own language, laws, and government. And in the later chapters of this book we are going to see how these nations were formed and fixed within their boundaries.

But we may well ask at this point in our story, Did the great and strong power of the Romans pass away without leaving any traces behind? Had the Romans no effect upon the later history of the nations of Europe?

The governing power of Rome passed away, but her influence still remained. In all parts of her great Empire of the West she had established law and order, and though for a long time the countries of Europe were filled with strife, even the barbarians of the North kept their respect for the Roman ideas of government and justice. They conquered by the power of the sword, but when they settled down, Roman law and custom to a great extent conquered them.

There was, however, to be no settling down in Europe for a long time after the fall of Rome before the Goths. We stand now at the beginning of a period known as the Dark Ages, which lasted for about four hundred years. During this time the Roman Empire was broken up and parcelled out among the various German tribes, until at last there arose a great German ruler named Charles the Great, whose reign forms a landmark in the history of Europe.

PART II.—THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIONS.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE MOVEMENTS OF THE GERMAN RACES.

LET us for a time fix our attention upon the German race known as the Franks, whose original home was in the Rhineland. When the movement of the Northern nations began, they spread westward over the North of Gaul and eastward to the River Elbe. The land which they occupied came to be known as Francia or Franconia, and the Franks became in time the chief race of Western Europe.

While they were building up and uniting the various parts of their kingdom, they had several rulers whose names are worthy of remembrance. One of these was Clovis, who reigned at the time when the Angles and Saxons were making their first settlements in the island of Britain—that is, near the end of the fifth century. He took possession of the North of Gaul and set up his Court at a small town on the Seine, known at that time as Lutetia, and afterwards as Paris. During his time the Franks over whom he ruled were converted to Christianity, partly owing to the influence of his wife, who reminds us of the wife of Ethelbert of Kent, who was herself a Princess of Gaul of a later time.

There has been handed down to us a story concerning



CHARLES THE GREAT, OR CHARLEMAGNE.

this Frankish King which shows the relation between him and his followers, as well as the love of justice among the Teutonic tribes even of that rude and turbulent age.

On one occasion a Frankish army led by Clovis took and sacked the city of Rheims. The spoil taken by the victors was about to be distributed by lot when the Bishop, Remigius, begged of Clovis that a beautiful chalice belonging to the cathedral might be restored to him. The King appealed to his warriors, and asked them to detach the chalice from the rest of the spoil. All agreed except one man, who suddenly lifted his battle-axe, and, bringing it down with a heavy blow crushed the chalice. "No!" he cried; "all must share alike." Though Clovis was King, he had no right to object, for the division of the spoil by lot was the rule among the Frankish warriors.

After a time, however, he had his revenge. The man who had crushed the chalice appeared one day at a review with his arms and accoutrements not in perfect order. The King examined the man's axe, and finding it was not well cleaned, threw it upon the ground. As the owner stooped to pick it up, the King struck him on the head with his own weapon, and laid him dead at his feet.

Clovis reigned for thirty years, and left behind him extensive dominions, which were divided among his sons. We must note in passing that the Emperor at Constantinople considered that this powerful Frankish King was his own officer, acting in his name as a Roman "consul." Clovis did not trouble himself about this

shadowy claim. He was practically a free and independent Prince, whatever the Emperor might say or do.

While he was building up his Frankish State, a Gothic Prince named Theodoric set up a strong kingdom in the North of Italy and neighbouring lands. He aspired to rule both Germans and Romans, and wished to get them to live in harmony with each other. He was a great ruler and a great general, but he was not destined to make the Goths the chief people of the West. After his death his kingdom fell apart, and the Franks grew stronger and stronger.

You may remember how at an earlier time a Gothic kingdom had been founded in the South of Gaul. This was at last overthrown by the Franks, and many of the Goths passed into Spain, where they founded a new kingdom. But at this time a change had come over the royal house of the Franks. The monarchs after Clovis were weak, and are known in history as the "do-nothing Kings." And in time the royal power passed from them to the family of a man named Pepin, who held a high office under the Crown, with the title of Mayor of the Palace.

"Nothing was left to the King," writes a later chronicler, "except the kingly name. With long hair and flowing beard, he sat on the throne to receive envoys from all quarters, but it was only to give them the answers which he was bidden to give. His kingly title was an empty shadow, and the allowance for his support depended upon the pleasure of the Mayor of the Palace. The King possessed nothing of his own but one poor farm, with a house on it, and a scanty

number of attendants to pay him necessary service and respect. He went abroad in a waggon drawn by oxen and guided by a herdsman, in the country fashion ; thus was he brought to the palace or to the annual assemblies of the people for the affairs of the realm ; thus he went home again. But the government of the kingdom and all business, foreign or domestic, were in the hands of the Mayors of the Palace.”

The son of this Pepin, who was named Charles, won for himself the surname of Martel, which means “the hammer,” by his bravery in battle. The story of the great fight in which he gained this title is very important in the history of Europe and of the world. But before we can understand it properly, we must turn aside for a few moments to watch the rise of another great empire, that of the Saracens or Arabs, under the prophet Mohammed.

The Saracens belonged to the same great division of the human race as the Jews or Hebrews. Their original home was the peninsula of Arabia, and they were idolaters, worshipping the sun, moon, and stars. Mecca was their holy city, and here was kept within a sacred shrine a stone known as the Kaaba, which they believed had been given to Abraham by an angel.

Mohammed belonged to the tribe to whose keeping the shrine of the sacred stone was entrusted. He became a merchant, and up to his fortieth year lived the life of a prosperous Arab trader. Then, after retiring for a time to the desert for meditation, he began to say that God had commanded him through

His angel Gabriel to go forth and preach to his idolatrous countrymen a new religion. They worshipped many gods, but the message of Mohammed was: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His slave and prophet."

Like other prophets, he soon had many enemies among those to whom the old religion had been a means of livelihood. They resolved to kill him, and in the year 622 he fled from his native city accompanied only by his father-in-law. The two men travelled by night, and took refuge in a cavern among a range of hills to the south of the city. Their enemies began a search on the following day, but, according to the legends, the fugitives were saved in a wonderful way.

As soon as they entered the cavern, it is said, a spider wove a web across the entrance. The pursuers came to the very mouth of the cavern, but the sight of the web turned them aside. "Spiders' webs are over it from the birth of Mohammed," they said, as they turned away. Other stories tell how branches of trees sprouted in a few moments to conceal the entrance, and how wild pigeons came and hovered near—a sure sign that no human beings were within.

When all was safe, the two men made their way to Medina, where they were gladly received, and soon the followers of the prophet were steadily increasing in numbers. Then Mohammed called upon his adherents to engage in a sacred war against all unbelievers. Men from all parts of Arabia flocked to his banner, and the Saracens began their wonderful career of conquest.

In a short time Mohammed had subdued the whole

of the peninsula of Arabia by the power of the sword. Then he turned his attention to lands beyond its borders, but he had only taken possession of part of the Syrian territory of the Emperor at Constantinople before death overtook him. His work was, however, carried on by his father-in-law, who took the title of Caliph, which is derived from an Arabic word meaning simply "successor." Before long, Damascus, Jerusalem, and the ports on the Syrian coast were in the hands of the Saracens. Then they marched into Egypt, "the granary of the Roman Empire," from thence to Carthage, and then westward to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The conquest of these parts of Africa took some years to accomplish, but only sixty years after the death of Mohammed the Saracens ruled from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea. At one end of the Mediterranean they were threatening Constantinople itself. At the other they were preparing to carry their banner, inscribed with the sacred Crescent, into the kingdom of the Goths in Spain.

They failed to take Constantinople, but in the West they were more successful. The Gothic King of that time was named Roderick, and had his capital at Toledo. He had an officer named Count Julian, who, having a grievance against his King, sent messengers to the Saracens on the other side of the strait offering them his help in an invasion of the Gothic kingdom.

They came in the year 710, and Roderick marched to meet them. He was defeated and put to flight, and the Saracen chief entered Toledo. In a short time the invaders had established their power over the greater

part of Spain, and prepared to march beyond the Pyrenees into the land of the Gauls. When they reached the plains of Gaul, they were met by the brave Frankish leader, Charles, at Tours. Then there took place one of the critical battles of history. It was a fight between Cross and Crescent, between the forces of progress and enlightenment and those of reaction and barbarism.

“The Northern nations stood immovable as a wall, or as if frozen to their places by the rigorous breath of winter, but hewing down the Arabs with their swords. But when the Frankish people, by the might of their massive limbs, and with iron hands striking straight from the chest their strenuous blows, had laid multitudes of the enemy low, at last they found the Saracen King and robbed him of life. Then night separated the combatants, the Franks brandishing their swords on high in scorn of the enemy.”

During the night the Saracens withdrew, and their tents and other belongings fell into the hands of the Franks. The Frankish kingdom was saved. The Saracens withdrew into Spain, upon which they kept hold for many centuries longer.

Though Charles Martel really held the kingly power among the Franks, he did not take the title of King. This, however, fell to his son Pepin the Short. He determined to become King in name, as he was already King in reality ; but he did not take the crown by force. He sent to the Pope asking for the removal of the King and his own elevation to the royal dignity.

“Does the kingdom,” he asked, “belong to him who

exercises the power without the name, or to him who bears the name without the power?" The Pope of that time wished to gain the help of Pepin against his enemies, and sent him the answer he desired. So Pepin became King of the Franks, "by the grace of God," as he was styled, in keeping with the sacred character of his appointment; and, after having been carried on the shield of his nobles round the House of Assembly, according to ancient German custom, was anointed and crowned.

The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Boniface, a native of our own Devonshire, who had greatly helped to spread Christianity and civilization among the German tribes. We must not forget to note in passing that Pepin's appeal to the Pope placed the latter in a very high position. It was an acknowledgment that the Bishop of Rome was superior to all earthly Princes, and had the power of appointing or deposing whom he willed—at least, so the Popes afterwards said, though it is more than probable that Pepin would have become King of the Franks even if the Pope of his day had not sent such a favourable answer to his question.

Who were the Lombards, against whom the Pope hoped to win the help of the new King of the Franks? They were another race of Germans from the North who crossed the Alps and took possession of the rich plains in the basin of the Po. There they founded a number of independent States, ruled by Dukes, and they were a constant menace to the Popes of Rome and other Princes of the southern parts of Italy.

Pepin took the side of the Pope against them, marched into Northern Italy, and forced them to respect the Holy Father. He also took possession of certain Italian lands, and gave them to the Pope. These lands were held by the Popes of Rome for more than a thousand years, and are named in history the Papal States.

Pepin died in 771, having made the Franks the greatest people of Western Europe. They were destined to rise still higher under their next monarch, the son of Pepin, who was named Charles, and is commonly known as Charlemagne, or Karl the Great. The reign of this powerful monarch is the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.—THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

WHEN Charles, the son of Pepin, succeeded to the throne, he was twenty-nine years of age, and in the pride of perfect strength and manly beauty. He stood almost seven feet in height, was well built, and so developed by frequent bodily exercise and activity of life that few men of his time could match him in strength. His face was noble and commanding, and he had the fair complexion and bright blue eyes of the typical German. As a King, his quiet dignity compelled reverence and obedience; as a friend, he was frank, joyous, and hearty; as a father, he was tender and kindly, loving the quiet pleasures of his home as a welcome relief from the toils of war and the cares of State.

During his reign of forty-three years, Charlemagne engaged in more than fifty warlike expeditions, among which one of the most important was that against the Saxons, who held the coast-lands between the lower courses of the Rhine and Elbe. These people, under their leader, Wittekind, made frequent raids into the eastern portions of the Frankish territory, plundering the villages and killing the inhabitants.

Charlemagne marched against them, overthrew the idol temple of their sacred grove, and, having subdued them, offered them a choice between baptism or the sword. Large numbers chose the former, and became Christians. Then the Frankish King was called away from Saxony to lead an army against other enemies. Wittekind at once mustered his forces, and organized fresh raids into Charlemagne's territory. The King marched into Saxony once again, but was unable to capture Wittekind. He therefore settled down for some time in the country, and personally directed the work of bringing it into subjection. After many years of fighting, Wittekind surrendered, and was baptized. Saxony became part of the ever-widening dominions of Charlemagne.

Another important campaign was that which was directed against the Lombards of North Italy, who also, after severe fighting, submitted to the Frankish conqueror. The Lombard King, Desiderius,* was deposed and placed in a monastery. Then Charles was crowned King of the Lombards with the iron crown

* See Longfellow's poem *Charlemagne*. It is given in *Steps to Literature*, Book V., p. 90.



THE BAPTISM OF CLOVIS.

(From the painting by J. Blane in the Pantheon, Paris. Neurdein, Photo.)

which was said to have been made out of one of the great nails by which Christ was fastened to the cross. So the Frankish King went on adding to his dominions and making himself the chief ruler of what we have agreed to call the Western Roman Empire. In time, his dominions embraced the countries now known as France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Western Germany, and the northern portion of both Spain and Italy.

But the powerful Frankish King was not always successful. In the early part of his reign he is said to have undertaken an expedition against the Saracens of Spain, whom Charles Martel had defeated at Tours. The Franks crossed the Pyrenees, and drove the Saracens beyond the Ebro. Then their leader led them back into Gaul, having placed the rearguard of his force under the command of one of his chief warriors named Roland. As this portion of the army was making its way through the Pass of Roncevalles it was attacked by bands of wild mountaineers, who slaughtered the Franks, including their leader, before King Charles could send relief.

History tells us little about this Roland, but he afterwards became a favourite hero of romance. He was a nephew of Charlemagne, it was said, and a giant in stature and strength. The blast of his horn, which could strike terror into a whole army, might be heard thirty miles away; his spear was of great length and enormous weight; his golden-hilted sword was the handiwork of the fairies, and in his last great fight he smote a rock with it, and made a fissure of three hundred feet in depth. His great deeds were after-

wards celebrated in the *Song of Roland*, which was sung by the minstrels of later days to nerve the warriors to deeds of desperate valour. So Taillefer, the Norman minstrel, went into the fight at Hastings :

“Chaunting loud the lusty strain
Of Roland and of Charlemagne,
And the dead, who, deathless all,
Fell at famous Roncevalles.”

Another of Charlemagne's famous warriors, or “paladins,” as they were called, was Oliver, the equal of Roland in strength and valour. In the *Song of Roland* it is the Saracens who attack the rearguard of the host of Charlemagne, and the two comrades, Roland and Oliver, engage in a desperate struggle against fearful odds.* Roland sounds such a mighty blast upon his horn Olifant that the blood bursts from his temples. Charles, now thirty leagues away, hears the sound, and hastens back to the help of his knights. But it is too late. Oliver falls, with clasped hands, crying : “Lord, unto me be a place in Thy Paradise given. Bless Charlemagne, bless sweet France, and bless above all men, Roland, my comrade.” Roland fights on “in sweat and fervent heat,” yearning for the coming of his royal master. Suddenly trumpets are heard in the distance, and the Saracens

“Shrieked each unto other : ‘The trumpets of France, we have heard them cry !

Lo, he returneth, the mighty king ! lo, Charlemagne nigh !”

* For the story of the *Song*, told in prose, see *Steps to Literature*, book V., p. 85.

The pagans take to flight, and Roland is left upon the field. His strength is spent, and he feels that death is upon him.

“ Under a pine lay Roland the Count ; looking Spainward he lay,
And he called to remembrance many and many a thing that day—
The lands he had won, sweet France, the faces of kinsfolk withal,
And his liege lord Charlemagne, who had feasted him aye in his
hall.

Then slowly, softly, his head sinks down on his arm upcast ;
Clasped are his hands in prayer—lo, now to his end hath he
passed !”

While Charlemagne was building up his power in Western Europe, at Constantinople the Emperors still reigned, claiming lordship over the world, and regarding the powerful King of the Franks and Lombards as their vassal—at least, in name. But the Emperors at Constantinople were as weak as Charlemagne was strong. At the end of the eighth century the throne of the Cæsars was occupied by a woman—the Empress Irene—who had caused her son, the Emperor Constantine VI., to be deposed and blinded, and had then invested herself with the imperial purple.

At the close of the year 800, Charlemagne happened to be in Rome when the Pope determined to take a most important step, in which he knew he would be supported by the people of the city. A woman, they said, could not be Cæsar and Augustus, and the time had come when the Empire ought to be placed under the rule of a Prince both strong and worthy. Accordingly, on Christmas Day, 800, while Charlemagne was attending a solemn service at the Church of

St. Peter, the Pope crowned him as "Emperor of the Romans."

"As in the sight of all," writes a historian, "he placed upon the brow of the barbarian chieftain the diadem of the Cæsars, then bent in obeisance before him, the church rang to the shout of the multitude, again free, again the lords and centre of the world: 'To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving Emperor, be life and victory!'"

Thus Charles, the Frankish King, became the head of the Roman Empire, and the successor of the Cæsars. This, at all events, was the view taken by the people of Rome and Western Europe. In spite of the fact that Europe was being gradually divided among the nations, each of which was destined to be independent of the others, the people of that day believed firmly "that it was a matter of right that there should be a monarch of the world; that the universal monarchy belonged of eternal right to the Roman Emperor, the successor of Augustus; and that the German King was the undoubted Roman Emperor, and therefore of eternal right Lord of the World."

To the people of the eastern portion of the Roman Empire the change meant nothing at all. They regarded Charles as the King of the Franks, and looked upon his claim to be Emperor as utterly absurd. There was only one Emperor to them—he who sat on the throne of the Cæsars in the city of Constantine.

These were the views of the two great divisions of the ancient world-empire of the Romans. Practically

the coronation of Charlemagne divided the Empire once for all into two portions. There was now a Western Empire, of which he was the head, and which was separated from the Eastern Empire. And the term "Emperor" came to have a new meaning in Europe. It meant the German King, who had been crowned at Rome by the Pope. After Charlemagne's death, as we shall see, his Empire fell apart, and the settlement of the separate nations, which his personal power had merely interrupted, went on again. But the empty claim of world-lordship was still kept up. The Popes of Rome went on crowning one German Prince after another as Emperor of the Romans, and for another thousand years the terms "Empire" and "Emperor" had only one meaning in the history of Europe.

But, as we shall see, this claim to world-lordship was empty and foolish. The world was now too large to be ruled by one man, however great and powerful he might be. The nations were in the process of formation, and not even the might of Charlemagne could stop the work. But his coronation in Rome on that Christmas Day, eleven hundred years ago, delayed the settlement of the nations in Europe, as we shall see again and again in the course of our story.

We must not forget to note carefully the share taken by the Pope in this coronation. The Frankish King was said to be "crowned of God" by the hand of the Pope, who was head of the Christian Church on earth. The Pope of Rome thus became the spiritual head of the new or revived Roman Empire, as Charlemagne was its temporal head. Thus the coronation greatly

increased the power and influence of the Pope. But, as we shall see, before long the claims of Pope and Emperor came into conflict.

There was now, also, an Eastern Empire, for the Cæsars still went on ruling in Constantinople. This Empire lasted for about six hundred and fifty years longer. It is often spoken of in history as the Greek Empire, because most of the people in it were Greeks, or spoke the Greek language.

Charlemagne did not fix his capital at Rome, but at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, where he built a palace and church, joined together by a colonnade. The church still stands, and forms part of the cathedral at Aix. Like our Alfred the Great who became King in Wessex some sixty years after the death of the great German ruler, Charlemagne was a lover of learning, of music, and of poetry. He set up schools in many parts of his dominions. He himself studied under Alcuin, a learned monk who came to him from the Court of Offa, King of Mercia. "He tried to write," we read in his biography, "and for this purpose used to carry about with him tablets and manuscripts, which were placed under the pillows of his bed in order that he might at odd times accustom his fingers to the shaping of the letters; but the attempt was made too late in life, and was not successful."

The German poetry which told of the exploits of the old legendary heroes was the especial delight of Charlemagne, and he caused a collection to be made of all the poems on this subject, which has been unfortunately lost. He encouraged trade and com-

merce by grants of money from the royal treasury, as well as by the personal interest he took in their development. He himself lived in a very simple manner. His own daughters were taught to work, and many of the garments worn by their royal father were the products of their industry.

The great Emperor died in the beginning of the year 814, and was buried at Aix in a splendid tomb bearing the following inscription: "Under this tomb is laid the body of Charles, great and orthodox Emperor, who nobly enlarged the kingdom of the Franks, and for forty-seven years reigned prosperously." He was placed in the vault "sitting, as in life, on a marble throne, dressed in his imperial robes, with his horn, his sword, and the book of the Gospels on his knee. And there, says the legend, in the last years of the tenth century, he was found by Otto III., who ventured to open the tomb, and who beheld the undecayed form of the great ruler of the Franks."*

But, though dead, his fame lived on through the ages, and he became, like his paladin Roland, the central figure of a series of legends and romances. The France and the Germany of a later day each claimed him as the great hero of their early history, but he rightly belongs to the latter country. He was really the founder of the German nation. This is an important point, and we might here with advantage take the opinion of a great historian upon the matter:

"Charles, King of the Franks, was above all things a German. He was in language, in ideas, in policy, in

* Dean Church.

tastes, in his favourite dwelling-place a Teutonic, not a Latin or Latinized King,* and it is entirely to mistake his place and his work to consider him in the light of a specially 'French' King, a predecessor of the Kings who reigned in Paris, and brought glory upon France. Modern France is a fragment, made up of fragments, split off from the Frank kingdom long after Charles's death. . . . Charles did nothing to make modern France. The Frank power on which he rose to the empire was in those days still mainly German, and his work was to lay the foundations of modern and civilized Germany."

So we find Charlemagne regarded by Germany of to-day much as we regard our early heroes like Alfred, or Harold, or Edward I. German tradition says he is not dead, but sits crowned and armed in Odenburg till the time shall need him, when he will arise and become again the champion of Christendom. He is still the guardian of his people, says another German legend, and appears in years of plenty, when he crosses the Rhine on a golden bridge, and blesses the corn-fields and vineyards. So the poet Longfellow, in his poem on *Autumn*, writes :

"Thou standest like imperial Charlemagne
Upon thy bridge of gold; thy royal hand
Outstretched with benedictions o'er the land,
Blessing the farms through all thy vast domain.
Thy shield is the red harvest-moon, suspended
So long beneath the heavens' o'erhanging eaves ;

* As we have seen, Gaul was Latinized by the Romans; and when it became France, Latin ideas and speech had great influence upon its people and their language.

Thy steps are by the farmers' prayers attended;
Like flames upon an altar shine the sheaves;
And, following thee, in thy ovation splendid,
Thine almoner, the wind, scatters the golden leaves!"

Charlemagne, then, in spite of his proud title, Emperor of the Romans, we must learn to regard as a German King. His Empire was only real while he lived, and when he passed away it fell apart, as we shall see in our next chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE RAIDS OF THE NORSE- MEN AND THE HUNS.

WE are trying to trace in Europe the settlement of the nations as we know them to-day. But so far we can only distinguish on the Continent itself the beginning of Germany, of which the real founder was Charlemagne. As yet there is no France, no Spain, no Italy. But in our own islands we can see the beginning of the English nation. German tribes had founded it, while the Franks, under such leaders as Clovis, were building up their power. And about sixty years after the time of Charlemagne there arose a wise and great ruler in England in the person of Alfred the Great, whose aim was to make of England a united country under one King. But he had to struggle against the people who are always spoken of in English history as the Danes, and they checked his work of unification in a very real manner.

Now, the Danish invasions of Britain were only part

of a great movement of certain barbarian tribes of North Europe who lived on the shores of the Baltic and North Sea. Some of them were Danes, others came from Norway, others from Sweden, but we shall group them all together under the name of Norsemen, or Northmen. And before we can resume our task of tracing the settlement of the chief nations of Europe, we must see what effect these Norsemen had upon that settlement.

Not long after Charles the Great had passed away, his Empire was divided roughly into three great divisions. The eastern portion was practically the central part of Germany, and that country dates her beginning from that time. It was placed under a monarch who was known as the King of the Eastern Franks. The western portion occupied almost the whole of the France of to-day. It was ruled by the King of the Western Franks. The middle part took in Northern Italy and a strip of land from the Alps to the North Sea, including the Rhine Valley. It was ruled by "the Emperor," and contained both Rome and Aix, the two capitals of Charlemagne's Empire. This was how Europe was divided when the Norsemen began their raids. Where did they go?

Some of them crossed over to England, as we have been reminded again and again in our history lessons. There, after much fierce fighting, they established themselves in the east of the country. Alfred checked them, but after he passed away the struggle still went on, and ended at last in the triumph of the Norsemen. From 1016 to 1035 England was only a portion of the

dominions of the Norse King Canute, who also ruled Norway, Denmark, and part of Sweden. But the Danes did not make this island home of ours into a Danish country. In time they became absorbed among the original settlers, adopted their language, and became, in fact, Englishmen. It must be remembered, however, that they were of the same race as the Angles and Saxons, and therefore would not find it difficult to fall into their ways.

The Norse vikings were no less successful in the North of France than they were in England. While bands of them were taxing the patience of Alfred the Great, others were making raids upon the coastlands of the Western Franks. In due time they had several settlements in the country drained by the Lower Seine. The invaders hoped to make the city of Lutetia, or Paris, the centre of a new Norse kingdom, and in 885 they besieged it.

A monk of Paris, who was in the city during the siege, wrote an account of the fighting which went on for more than a year. He tells how, when the rough Danes had their hair burnt by the fire thrown upon them by the Parisians, the latter cried: "May the Seine give you new wigs, and better combed!" In another place he writes: "When the wall in one place fell down, and a breach was made, those within saw the Danes all helmeted, in a great crowd, pressing onward; but as for the Danes, they looked through the breach in the wall, and counted our great men, and dared not enter. Even during the night we heard the whistling of the arrows."

The Norsemen did not win Paris, which was destined to be the capital of France. But they obtained settlements in the land, which was afterwards known as Normandy—that is, the country of the Norsemen. A tax was levied upon the Franks, and the proceeds paid as a kind of tribute to Rollo, the Norse chieftain, who then “placed his hands between the King’s hands, and became the King’s man”—that is, he went through the ceremony which was afterwards known as “paying homage.” He also promised to become a Christian, and married a daughter of the King.

In a comparatively short time the Norsemen in France began to live in all ways like the people in whose land they had settled. Like their brethren in England, they became absorbed in the country of their forcible adoption. They became Frenchmen, and our English history books tell us how great was the difference between them and the people whom they met in the year 1066 on the field of Hastings.

The effect of the Norse invasions on England and France was this: they added a new and vigorous element to the population of each country. But they did not put an end to, or even check, the movement that was going on—the settlement of the English and French nations. They did not lead to the founding in either country of a lasting Norse kingdom.

Nor did the Normans who crossed the Channel under William the Conqueror and defeated Harold the Saxon found a Norman realm in England. They set up a Norman line of Kings, but as time went by all the Normans who made their homes in England became

Englishmen; the English language triumphed over the Norman tongue; and England remained almost as English as she had been before the Danes set foot upon her shores in the time of Alfred the Great.

The ravages of the Norsemen extended to the eastward as well as to the westward of their original home. The Swedish vikings raided the shores of the Baltic, and eventually found their way into the middle of the land now known as Russia. This country was occupied by the Slavs, who were divided into many different tribes or clans. In the middle of the ninth century, just before the time of Alfred the Great, a Swedish viking named Rurik reached Novgorod, one of the chief cities of the Slavs. Here he settled with his followers, and before long became a King in his own right. He was the ancestor of a long line of Russian monarchs who held the throne for more than seven hundred years. Some of the viking warriors made their way across Russia to Constantinople, where they took service under the Eastern Emperor.

Other vikings sailed away into the open Atlantic far to the north-west, and settled in the island of Iceland. Here they established a kind of republic, and in time, strange to say, made the far-off island a home of learning and literature. There were many scalds, or gleemen, among them who sang at the feasts of the great deeds of the vikings, and the songs of these men were at last committed to writing by a Christian priest named Sigfussen, and formed the collection known as the Poetic Edda. Another collection called the Prose Edda was made at a later day. And from these books we



THE LANDING OF EARL HAROLD ON THE FRENCH COAST.

(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

get a true idea of the life and ideas of the Norse vikings who swarmed over Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries.

While the Norse movements were taking place, the Huns, of whom we have already read, were making raids upon Germany. The country at that time was under a King known as Henry the Fowler, who rendered the same service to Germany as Alfred did to England. He first paid the Huns to keep away and having gained breathing-time, prepared an army for the final contest which he foresaw. The frontiers of his kingdom were strengthened by the building of many fortified towns, in each of which was placed a strong garrison of soldiers. Every autumn great stores of grain were placed within these fortified posts in preparation for the time of siege. Near the end of the time of truce Henry tried his newly-formed army by marching against the Slavs to the east of him, and added a large portion of their territory to his own. Then, when he was ready, he refused to pay to the Huns the tribute which had been agreed upon nine years before. The barbarians at once poured into his kingdom in great numbers. Henry met and defeated them at Merseburg, working such havoc among them that after the fight some thirty thousand of the Huns lay dead on the field. In the reign of Henry's son Otto the Huns were once and for all beaten back from the German territory. So Central Europe was saved from the barbarian hordes whose victory would have delayed or altered the settlement of the nations of Europe which we are trying to trace.

CHAPTER XVII.—THE EMPEROR AND THE POPE.

THOUGH the chief nations of Europe as we know them were now gradually settling down, each separate and distinct from the others, most men still held, “as undoubted and eternal truths, first, that it was a matter of right that there should be a universal monarch of the world; secondly, that the universal monarchy belonged, no less of eternal right, to the Roman Emperor, the successor of Augustus; and thirdly, that the German King was the undoubted Roman Emperor, and therefore, of eternal right, lord of the world.” It was a strange view to hold in the face of what was happening, but it is easier for us to trace the settlement of the nations than it was for the people of those far-off times to see whither they were going.

When Otto, the German King, had beaten back the Huns and driven them from his kingdom, he took a further step which raised him to the height of ambition. For some time there had been no Emperor, but men still thought that the Empire was suspended, not extinct, and believed that without it the world could never be right. He was invited into Italy to the rescue of a certain Princess named Adelheid, whom a brutal King named Berengar was trying to force into marriage. Otto crossed the Alps, delivered the Princess, and married her. Then, some years later, he had himself crowned with the iron crown as King of the Lombards. Last of all, he was crowned in Rome by the Pope as Emperor of the Romans.

There was, however, a difference between the Empire of Charlemagne and the Empire of Otto, and it is important that we should try to understand what it was. Charlemagne claimed authority over the whole of the ancient Roman Empire, but really ruled Central Europe. Otto also proudly claimed to be lord of the world, but really ruled Germany and the northern portion of Italy. France had broken away from the Empire. England and Spain had never really belonged to it. Russia lay beyond its borders. The people of the Balkan Peninsula and the Isles of Greece looked to the ruler in Constantinople as their head. From the time of Otto the Emperor was, as a rule, a German King. While the Empire lasted, the King of the Germans claimed as a right to be crowned King of the Lombards at Milan and Emperor at Rome. Sometimes there was no Emperor, for each German King did not succeed in reaching Rome to be crowned by the Pope. But from Otto's day to the beginning of the nineteenth century there was always an Emperor or a German King who claimed to be Emperor.

All this seems rather foolish and not a little confusing. The fact we must remember is this : Germany and Italy were linked together in an unnatural union, which delayed the development of each these two countries as a separate nation. While France and England and Spain went on each steadily growing into a strong and independent nation, Germany and Italy were each split up into a number of smaller States which were continually quarrelling among themselves. We shall in due time find Spain, France, and England

in turn taking the leading place in Europe ; but we shall come quite to the end of our story before we see Italy separated from Germany, and each beginning her work as an independent and self-contained nation.

When we read, then, in the history of Europe of "the Empire" and "the Emperor," these words ought to recall to our minds the unnatural union between Germany and Italy—nothing very grand or magnificent, after all. Still, the crowning of Otto as Cæsar Augustus was hailed by the wisest men of his time as the beginning of a new and better age.

The events which took place soon after Otto's coronation show very well that the German King had not added to his strength by being crowned as Emperor of the Romans. In a short time he was forced once more to lead an army into Italy to put down a rebellion headed by no less a person than the Pope. He took Rome by storm, deposed the Pope, and gave his office to another man whom he could trust. As soon as he had returned to Germany, the Lombards rebelled, while the people of Rome deposed the Pope he had appointed, and set up another in his place. Once more the Emperor crossed the Alps and restored order. So the quarrelling went on.

At first, as you may remember, the idea was that Emperor and Pope should together rule the world ; but before long these two dignitaries became rivals, as might have been expected, and the disputes between them take up a large part of the story of Europe in the Middle Ages. There was a King in Germany during the time of our Norman Kings named Henry IV., and his

quarrel with the Pope may be taken as a good example of this rivalry between Pope and Emperor.

The Pope of the time was Gregory VII., a man with the mind of a statesman and of inflexible will. Let us see what was his idea of the dignity of his office. He has put it into very clear language: "The Popes of Rome are able on earth, according to the merits of each man, to give and take away empires, kingdoms, principdoms, marquisates, duchies, countships, and the possessions of all men." So, then, according to Gregory VII., the Pope was supreme, and the Kings of the earth, including the Emperor, were his servants. This was simple and definite enough.

It was not long before this claim of the Pope came into conflict with the rights and claims of Henry IV., and a quarrel began. A messenger was sent by Henry to Rome, ordering the people of that city to "rise up against Gregory, the invader and oppressor of the Church, the plotter against the Roman State, and against Germany," and to drive him from the city. When the King's letters were read to the assembled clergy and nobles, and the messenger informed them that they were expected to present themselves before Henry to receive from his hands a new Pope, a Bishop cried out with a loud voice, "Take him!" Then some of the nobles rushed forward, sword in hand, and would have slain him then and there had it not been for the interference of Pope Gregory himself.

The Pope's reply to Henry was to excommunicate him—that is, to cut him off from all communion with his fellow-Christians. He was to be shunned by every

one, and his vassals were told that their oaths of obedience were no longer binding. Henry made a brave attempt to show that the Pope's sentence did not concern him, but it was of no use. At last he made up his mind to go in person to Italy, and beg for pardon from the Pope.

Gregory was at that time staying at Canossa, a castled fortress near Reggio belonging to a noble lady who was one of his most loyal and constant supporters. To this castle went King Henry, worn out with his journey across the Alps, to beg humbly for the Pope's pardon. Gregory did not yield too readily. He refused to see the King, but ordered that he should be admitted without any attendants within the outer gate only. In the courtyard Henry waited for three whole days, dressed in the scantiest of clothing and with naked feet, until the Pope should please to signify that he extended pardon to the suppliant King. He was commanded to present himself on a later day before the Pope, in order that the latter might decide whether his kingdom was to be restored to him or not.

When Henry first appeared in Italy, the Lombards of the North were ready to take his part against Gregory, but after the humiliating spectacle in the courtyard of Canossa, they refused to support him. In Germany the Princes chose another King, and soon civil war was raging, and the country was plunged into the deepest misery. Henry, however, was finally victorious, and he then prepared to avenge himself on Pope Gregory. He marched into Italy with a large army, and laid siege to Rome itself. The city held out

for a long time, and only fell at last into the hands of the besiegers through the treachery of some of the Romans.

Henry appointed a new Pope, who crowned him Emperor in St. Peter's; then he returned to Germany. The struggle with Gregory was ended, but the Emperor's troubles seemed to have no end. The last years of his life were chiefly spent in quarrels with his two rebellious sons, who treated him shamefully, and at one time forced him to abdicate. He died in 1106, a broken-hearted man. Twenty years before his great rival Gregory had passed away, an exile in Salerno.

The rivalry between Pope and Emperor is one of the leading facts of the history of Europe. It went on long after the time of Henry IV. and Gregory, and we must regard the struggle between them as typical of other great contests between later Emperors and Popes, and remember throughout that the policy of the Bishop of Rome always aimed at weakening the power of the Empire.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES

WE come now to the time in the history of Europe which is often spoken of as the Age of Chivalry, and which extended from the eleventh to the fourteenth century—that is, roughly, from the time of the Norman Conquest to that of our Edward III. It saw the passing of the leading nations of Europe from barbarism and violence to civilization and comparative respect for law and order.

It was the age of the mail-clad knight and the tournament, of which we can read in such books as Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Every youth of noble birth aspired to obtain the honour of knighthood. Before he could do this, he was obliged to serve some knight of renown first as a page, and then as an esquire. During times of peace he resided at his lord's castle, where he was taught "to spring upon a horse while armed at all points; to exercise himself in running; to strike for a length of time with the axe or club; to dance and throw somersaults, entirely armed excepting the helmet; to mount on horseback behind one of his comrades by barely laying his hands on his sleeves; to raise himself between two partition walls to any height by placing his back against the one and his knees and hands against the other; to mount a ladder placed against a tower upon the reverse or under side solely by the aid of his hands, and without touching the rounds with his feet; to throw the javelin and pitch the bar."

In war the esquire had to attend upon his lord, and sometimes took a share in the fighting. When he had reached the age of twenty-one, he might claim the honour of knighthood, provided that the record of his early years was free from blame. The making of a knight was a solemn rite, which was performed either on the field of battle or in a church. The chief part of the ceremony was the striking of the candidate on the neck with the flat of a sword. This light blow was called the accolade. It was given by some knight of renown, sometimes by the Sovereign himself. As he

struck the blow, he used a form of words such as: "I dub thee knight in the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George. Be faithful, bold, and fortunate."

There were knights in each of the nations of Central Europe, and the fact that before each of these warriors was held a high ideal of life and duty did a great deal to introduce a time of "sweeter manners, purer laws" throughout the lands of Christendom. Yet there were many who were knightly in name, but not in character. We read how "deeds that would disgrace a thief, and acts of cruelty that would have disgusted a tyrant of old, were common things with knights of the highest lineage." Nor did even the best of knights consider that he owed service or consideration to those beneath him in rank. Many of the knights, moreover, spent a great deal of their time in private wars, which caused great misery in the lands of Western Europe. At last, however, the knights of the various countries of Europe found a common cause for which to fight. This was the series of wars which are known as the Crusades, or Wars of the Cross. Before we see how these wars began, and how they ended, let us learn a little of the position of each of the nations of Western Europe at the time of their commencement—that is, in the latter part of the eleventh century, not very long after the Norman Conquest of England.

France at this time was passing through the first period of her history as a separate nation. In the year 987 a certain nobleman named Hugh Capet was elected as King, and from this year France dates her history as a separate country. Hugh was head of the noble

family of Paris which had saved that city from the Norsemen, and Paris became the centre round which the kingdom of France was in time built up.

The other parts of France as we know it were under other great nobles, many of whom took little heed of King Hugh. His reign was indeed a constant struggle against his powerful neighbours, and he purchased his royal title by a life of unceasing toil and anxiety, as well as by forfeiting many of his family estates, which he gave to his supporters in return for their services. But Hugh Capet began the work of building up a united France. In a very real sense Paris was the beginning of France, and from this centre the kingdom grew, till in time its boundaries ran almost with those of the Gaul which Julius Cæsar conquered and ruled.

Meanwhile England had passed into the hands of the Norman Duke, William, who was the first of a line of Kings who were closely connected with the Continent. Before the Norman Conquest England had not much to do with the continent of Europe. But now she became more closely connected with the Continental mainland, and especially with France. As we have already seen, however, she did not become Norman, for in a comparatively short time the conquerors were absorbed among the conquered; the Norman-French language gave place to the mother-tongue, and England gradually won for herself a distinct national position quite independent of her connection with the continent of Europe.

Germany at this time consisted of a number of separate States under independent Princes, who

elected a King from among their number. On the south-eastern border of Germany lay a duchy known as that of Austria, that was in time to become the centre of a new State which occupies a large portion of the map of Europe. The basin of the Middle Danube formed the kingdom of Hungary, and to the north of this lay the kingdom of Poland.

Italy was, as we have seen, linked unnaturally with Germany as part of the Holy Roman Empire. It had no national unity. In the north lay the kingdom of Lombardy. Round about Rome were the lands ruled by the Pope. In the south the Normans had set up a kingdom which was known as that of the Two Sicilies. There were no States known as Switzerland, Holland, or Belgium. The lands now known under these names lay within the boundaries of the Empire.

The southern part of Spain formed a Saracen kingdom, with its capital at Granada. In the northern part of the peninsula there were several States, of which the two most powerful were those of Castile and Aragon, of which we shall read more in a later chapter.

In the South-East of Europe, with its centre at Constantinople, was the so-called Eastern Empire. The lands to the east of the Mediterranean were in the hands of the Saracen followers of Mahomet, who, however, did not deny to Christians the privilege of visiting the holy places in and near Jerusalem. But in the eleventh century these Saracens were overcome by the Turks, a warlike race, who came from the middle of Asia, and fixed their capital at Nicea in Asia Minor, almost opposite to Constantinople.

They adopted the religion of Mahomet, and their rulers or Sultans called themselves Caliphs—that is, successors of the Prophet. The Christian pilgrims from the West now found that they were forbidden entry to the holy places by the new masters of Palestine. Many of them also suffered cruelly at the hands of the Turks. Accounts of these persecutions travelled westward, and gradually prepared the minds of the people of Western Europe for the great movement which led to the First Crusade.

The man who did most to rouse the West to action in defence of the Holy Sepulchre was Peter the Hermit, a native of Picardy, who in his younger days had seen service as a soldier. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and saw with his own eyes how the Christians were treated by the Turks. Filled with wrath against the “unbelieving hounds,” he vowed to make his way through every part of Western Europe, and rouse the nations to a holy war.

A council was held at Clermont in France, which was attended by princes, nobles, archbishops, and bishops from every part of the country. The Pope was present, and so deeply was the assembly stirred by his words and those of Peter the Hermit that they vowed to set out without delay for the Holy Land. Before long the Western lands were in a state of feverish preparation. “Europe appeared,” writes a historian, “to be a land of exile which everyone was eager to quit.”

There were in all eight expeditions to the Holy Land. The First Crusade had its origin in France, but afterwards the princes of the other lands of Western Europe

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joined in the Holy Wars. The first body of Crusaders took Jerusalem, and set up a Christian kingdom in the Holy Land, placing at the head of it a nobleman named Godfrey of Bouillon, who took the title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. After his death the Turks attacked this kingdom again, and the Second Crusade was organized, but was met by disaster. Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Saracen ruler of Egypt, and the Third Crusade was planned.

Three Kings of Western Europe took part in this expedition—our own Richard Cœur de Lion, Philip II. of France, his rival, and Frederick I. of Germany, who was known as Barbarossa, or the “Red Beard.” English history tells us of the heroic deeds done by Richard of the Lion Heart. He set out for the Holy Land by sea with Philip of France, while Frederick marched by land towards the Bosphorus. The English and French forces captured the town of Acre after a long and costly siege. Then the two monarchs quarrelled, and Philip returned to France, leaving Richard to advance upon Jerusalem alone.

The struggle between Cœur de Lion and Saladin, the courteous and knightly leader of the Mohammedans, for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, lasted for nearly three years, and ended in a truce, which gave to the Christians admission to the holy places in the city. During this Crusade the knights of the West learnt to respect the Saracen warriors, and ceased to look upon them as savages or barbarians fit only to be slaughtered without mercy.

Frederick Barbarossa, while crossing a river in Asia

Minor, was either drowned or caught a fatal chill from the effects of immersion in the icy waters. By what means he came to his death is not certain, and the mystery of it helped to foster the idea, which after a time took root in the minds of the German peasantry, that Frederick was not dead, but would once more reappear when Germany was most in need of his powerful arm.

Of the later Crusading leaders, two of the most noteworthy were Louis IX. of France, one of the best Kings of early French history, and Prince Edward of England, afterwards known as Edward I., one of the best Kings of early English history. Louis IX. has been described as "the most eminent pattern of unswerving probity and Christian strictness of conscience that ever held the sceptre in any country." But he won no lasting success in the East. The best of his life-work was his wise and firm government of his own kingdom. He died while travelling eastward on the Eighth Crusade.

Prince Edward, who went with this same expedition, was more successful. He reached the Holy Land, captured Nazareth, and concluded with the Sultan of Egypt a treaty which gave several advantages to the Christians. This was the last of the Crusades. In 1291 Jerusalem fell once more into the hands of the Turks, and "silence reigned along the shore that had so long resounded with the world's debate."

A far as their first object was concerned, then, the Crusades were not successful, for when they were over the Holy City still remained in the hands of the infidel. But the people of the Western nations of

Europe gained greatly from these expeditions. Many of the knights forgot their private quarrels in zeal for a common cause. Their absence from their own lands allowed the arts of peace to flourish at home as they had not done before. Trade and commerce increased in France, Germany, and Italy, and wealthy cities arose full of a bustling commercial community.

The returning Crusaders brought back not only wonderful travellers' tales of Eastern lands, but valuable knowledge of the people and countries through which they had passed. This helped to broaden the minds of the people of the West, whose knowledge of geography and of the manners and customs of other nations had hitherto been of a very scanty nature. On the whole, the Crusades were a civilizing power, and mark a great step forward in the progress of the nations of Europe towards enlightenment, and towards law and order.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE AWAKENING OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Crusades have been described as the "first great European event," because they stirred the people of the whole of Western Europe to united action for a common cause. When they were ended the various nations of Europe went on with their work of development, which we have not space to trace in detail. We must fix our eyes upon another great "European event" which took place in the middle of the fifteenth

century, and had very wide and far-reaching consequences. This was the fall of Constantinople before the Turks in the year 1453.

For a long time before this event the Turks had been pressing upon the imperial city. The threatening danger caused many Greek scholars who had made their abode in Constantinople to leave the city, and find new homes for themselves in the great cities of the West. There they were gladly received. They taught the Greek language to Western scholars, and opened out to them a new world of thought and pleasure by making them able to read the great works which had been written long ages before by the great writers of Greece.

Then came the fall of the imperial city before the Turks, who thus established themselves in the southeastern corner of Europe, where they have since remained. This event was a check to civilization in that part of the Continent, but the loss of the East was the gain of the West. The city on the Bosphorus was no longer the home of learning, but the cities of Central Europe afforded a refuge to the Greek scholars, and pupils came to them from all the Western lands.

For a long time the West had been slowly waking to a new life. The great Italian poet Dante, who lived not long before the time of our own Chaucer, had been one of the forerunners of the great movement. He had been followed by another Italian poet, Francis Petrarch, who had travelled widely throughout the countries of Western Europe to study in the libraries of the monasteries such writings of the great authors of

Ancient Greece and Rome as he could find. So that when the advance of the Turks sent the Greek scholars westward, they found the way well prepared for the work which came to their hands. After ages have spoken of this time of awakening as the New Birth, or the Renaissance, and the later period, when the Greeks came from Constantinople, as the Revival of Learning.

Just about this time, too, came a wonderful discovery which greatly helped after a while to spread the new knowledge which was stirring the minds and hearts of all thinking men. This was the invention of printing. We do not know with certainty to whom the credit of this discovery is due, but it is said that it was a printer of Mainz, named Gutenberg, who first made it possible to print from movable types. However that may be, the art was soon learnt by others, who carried it to Italy, France, Spain, and England. And before long the first printing presses were busily at work turning out copies of service books and works on theology for the priests, and editions of the authors of ancient Greece and Rome for the scholars and their pupils.

In Italy there were at this time a number of great and wealthy cities, such as Florence, Venice, Genoa, and others, which gave a warm welcome to the new learning, and soon became the resort of scholars from all parts of Europe. They had won great wealth from commerce, and their merchants took a delight in spending their riches in the employment of poets, prose-writers, artists, architects, and sculptors. They erected beautiful buildings, set up galleries of painting



AN ITALIAN PRINCESS.

(From the painting by Leonardo da Vinci. Anderson, Photo.)

and sculpture, decorated the churches with frescoes and statuary, established libraries and schools, and encouraged the most learned men to make their homes among them.

This was the age of the great artists whose works are now the wonder of the world. We have space to tell only of one, Michael Angelo, the painter and sculptor, who has left memorials of his genius in many towns of Italy. He was a man of fiery spirit, who had no doubt about his own greatness as an artist. One of his earliest works was a gigantic statue of David, the shepherd-king of Israel. The marble for this work consisted of a huge block which had been spoilt by another sculptor, and which was made over to Michael Angelo by the Florentines, who bade him try his chisel upon it. The young sculptor first made a model in wax of David, the shepherd-boy, with his sling. Then he built a tower of wood about the block of marble, and set to work with fiery energy, allowing no one to see him at his task. The work took three years to accomplish, and was then set up before the chief public hall of Florence.

At a later time the artist was set to work by the Pope on some frescoes in his private chapel in Rome. The task was given to him on the suggestion of a rival painter, who wished to see Michael Angelo humbled, and thought that if the sculptor were set to work with the brush he would bring discredit upon himself. But the genius of Michael Angelo was triumphant, and the paintings which he produced established his fame as a painter. Some of his best work in marble was carried



PORTRAIT OF AN ITALIAN LADY.

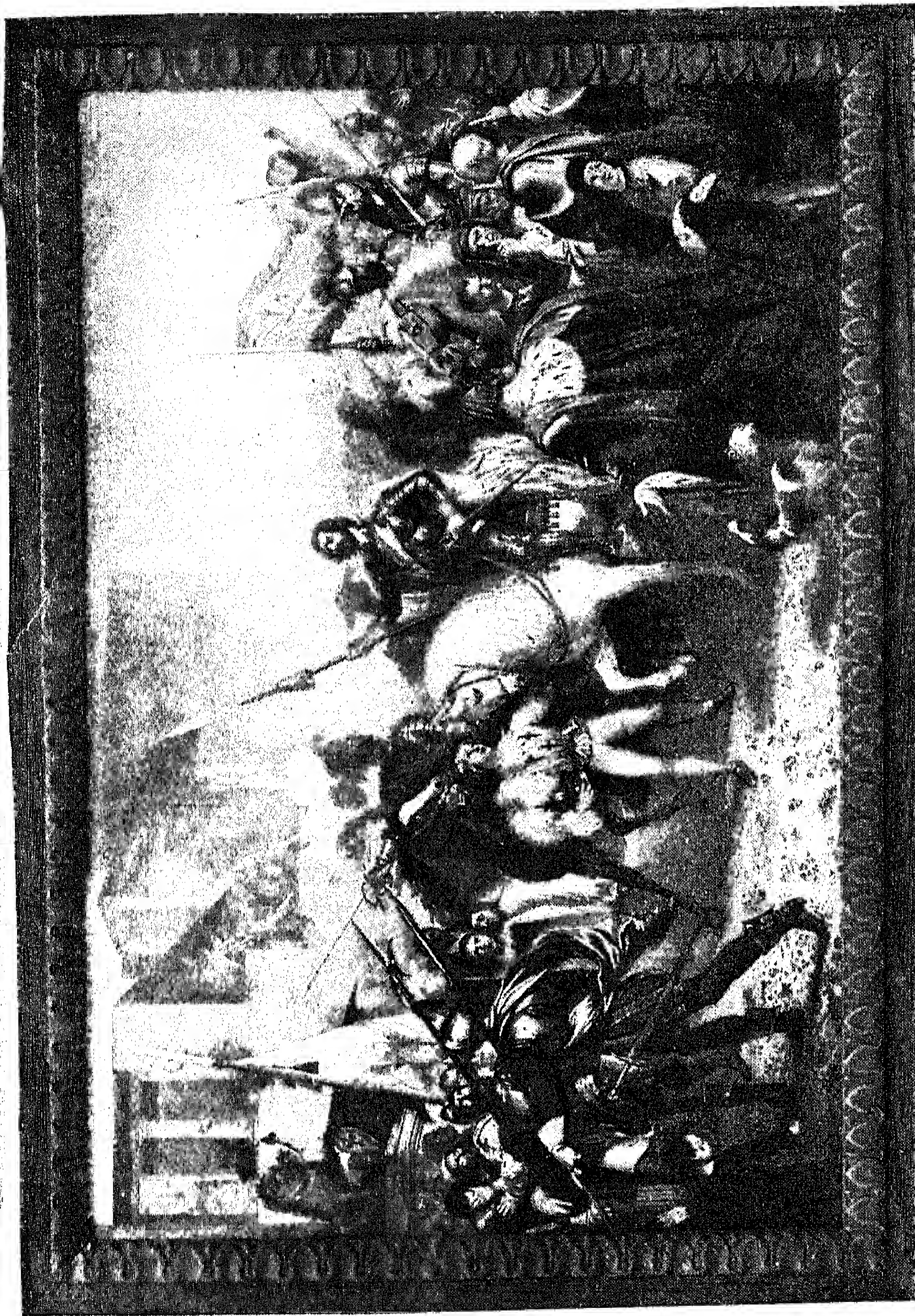
(From the painting by Leonardo da Vinci. Anderson, Photo.)

out for the tombs of the Dukes of Florence in the church of San Lorenzo. Another well-known work of the great sculptor was the statue of Moses, which was placed over the tomb of one of the Popes.

The last years of the artist's life were spent in Rome. Here he painted in the Sistine Chapel his great fresco of the Last Judgment, which occupied him for eight years. He was also appointed architect of the present church of St. Peter, and he planned and commenced the building of the great dome, which is such a prominent feature among the buildings of the city. Michael Angelo died in 1564. We must remember him as one of the greatest artists of all time.

So great was the enthusiasm for art and learning in Italy that the people of these great cities soon began to think of little else. They forgot their enthusiasm for liberty, which had made them free and independent cities in spite of the fact that they were supposed to owe allegiance to the Emperor. And many of them also forgot the higher duties of reverence for God and for religion.

In Florence there arose a great preacher, who tried to recall the people to a sense of their danger. This was Savonarola, the prior of the monastery of San Marco, who by his fiery eloquence produced in time a great effect upon the minds of the Florentines. He prevailed upon many of them to make a bonfire of their treasures of art, their jewels, and their rich apparel. Summoned to the deathbed of the Duke of Florence, he told him boldly that three things were required of him—to believe in God, to restore all he



ENTRY OF CHARLES OF FRANCE INTO FLORENCE.

(From the painting by Giuseppe Bezzuoli. Brogi, Photo.)

had unjustly gained, and to give back to Florence her liberty. When the Duke had died, Florence was captured by the French. The people drove out their ruler, and set up a new government under Savonarola. For a time he ruled the city, and had great influence over the people, but before long his enemies brought about his fall, and he was put to death after suffering horrible tortures.

In Italy, then, the great awakening turned men's minds for the most part to learning and art and science. But in the North of Europe—in Germany and France and England—the scholars of that time used the new learning which they had won to find out more about religion, especially from the New Testament. To them the language of ancient Greece was the "key wherewith they might unlock the Gospels." They studied the New Testament carefully, and before long many of them began to wonder whether the views of the clergy of the day were quite in accordance with what they found in the sacred page. In time many of them concluded that they were not, and then there began a great movement which led to the separation of many bodies of Christians from the Church of which the Pope was the head.

This movement is known in history as the Reformation. It affected chiefly Germany, France, and England, and we must see, shortly, what happened in each of these three countries.

In Germany a new religious body, known as the Protestants, was formed, chiefly owing to the teaching of Martin Luther, who began life as a friar. He studied

closely, and thought things over, and then spoke out boldly his ideas on religious matters. He was summoned to appear before the Emperor's Court, and at one time was in danger of losing his life. But his friends took care of him, and he spent the rest of his life in preaching, teaching, and writing. He lived to see his ideas on religion take deep root in Germany. As a scholar, he is best remembered for his translation of the Bible into German, which he accomplished with the help of several friends.

In France the hero of the Reformation was John Calvin. He studied at the University of Paris, whence he was forced to fly because of his religious beliefs. At last he settled at Geneva, which he made the centre of what came to be known as the "Reformed" faith. His French followers were nicknamed Huguenots by those people of France who remained true to the Pope, and who were now coming to be known as Catholics. The Huguenots of France had to endure a great deal for the sake of their religious ideas. Many were put to death or subjected to fierce persecution, but this did not cause them to give up their belief.

Calvin had a friend named John Knox, who carried his ideas to Scotland, and was largely the means of making that country Protestant. In England the new ideas about religion also took firm root, and, as our history books tell us, the Church in our country was separated from the Church of Rome in the time of Henry VIII. Speaking generally, then, the new ideas about religion spread widely in the North of Europe—in Germany and France and England. But we must not forget

that many people in these three countries remained true to the old Church, and for a long time the two religious parties were in constant strife with each other.

We have not space to tell the story of the persecutions of the two great parties during the sixteenth century. Each hated the other, and took every opportunity of inflicting pain and death upon those who differed from them in religious matters. And what appears strange to us in these happier days is the fact that each side thought they were acting for "the glory of the Lord."

At the time of which we are writing, "the world" to most people meant the lands of Central and Southern Europe. They knew of India and certain lands of Central Asia as trading places where riches might be won for the enjoyment of people in European cities, and they had long known the story of the travels of Marco Polo, who in the middle of the thirteenth century made a journey across Asia to the city now known as Peking. This "wise and noble citizen of Venice" afterwards caused an account of his travels to be set down in writing. His book contains many tales of the wonders of Far Cathay, and its Khan, or Emperor, which we have not space to tell. We may imagine with what a greedy ear the people of the West would listen to these travellers' tales when the pioneer returned to Europe. This book was widely read, and had a great influence in turning the minds of men to thoughts of travel and exploration. Among its readers was Christopher Columbus, of whom we have all heard.

One more great event of the fifteenth century we

must notice briefly in this place. When Constantinople fell before the Turks, the nations of Europe were cut off from the trade-routes which led to India. Now, the trade with the East had brought wealth to many of the great cities of Southern Europe, and they began to wonder whether it was not possible to reach India and the spice-islands of South-Eastern Asia by sea.

Portugal led the way, sending several expeditions along the west coast of Africa, with the object of finding a passage to India round the southernmost point of the Dark Continent. In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz succeeded in doubling what had been called the Cape of Storms, but was now re-named the Cape of Good Hope, because the possibility of finding an ocean route to India seemed now to be assured. Ten years later another Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, doubled the Cape, sailed across the Indian Ocean, and landed on the Malabar coast. The ocean route by way of the East had been found at last, but meanwhile the famous sailor Columbus had been trying to find a shorter route to the coast of Asia, and had found a new world instead.

This great man—great in patience as well as in courage—believed that the earth was a sphere, but he did not think that it was so large as it really is. He thought that there were but three continents, and that the distance between the eastern shores of Asia and the western coasts of Europe was only about five thousand miles. He had no thought or expectation of discovering a new world. His aim was to explore the East by the West, and to pass by way of the West to the land whence come the spices.

It was the Spanish King and Queen, of whom we shall read more in our next chapter, who made it possible for Columbus to realize his dream. He set out for Asia, and found a new world in his path. The story of his great voyage and his later life we cannot tell here, but not long before his death he wrote to a friend : “ I have established all that I have proposed—the existence of land in the West. I have opened the gate, and others may enter at their pleasure, as, indeed they do, claiming for themselves the title of discoverers, to which they can have little claim, following as they do in my track.”

Among the many who followed in the track of Columbus was a native of Florence, named Amerigo Vespucci, or, in Latin, *Americus Vesputius*. He made three voyages to South America, and afterwards wrote a short account of them. A copy of this account, it is said, fell into the hands of a teacher in a school not far from Strasburg. He was preparing an “ Introduction to Geography ” for the use of his pupils, and in this work he wrote : “ The fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, it may be called the land of Americus, or America.” The new and misleading name was at once adopted for the southern portion of the New World, and was afterwards applied also to the northern part. Thus, the great western continent goes by the name of a man who has no claim to be called its discoverer, though we must note that he himself did not make any such claim.

We see, then, how in the fifteenth century the minds of men were enlarged and enriched by the new learning

and by the discoveries of the sailors, and how much of this awakening was due to an event which seemed at first to give a great check to advancement—the fall of the imperial city of Constantinople before the Mohammedan Turks.

During the rest of our story we are to watch the struggle among the nations of Europe for supremacy. The first to win pride of place was the country which made it possible for Columbus to undertake his momentous voyage Westward ho!—the kingdom of Spain. The next was France, and the next our own country.

CHAPTER XX.—THE POWER OF SPAIN.

WE saw in a previous chapter how the Moors from North Africa set up a kingdom in the South of Spain, but did not succeed in making their way into the mountainous lands of the north of the peninsula. In that part of Spain the Christians founded several small States, which kept up a continual warfare against the Saracens. Little by little the followers of the Prophet were driven southward, and about the time of our William I. they held only the south-eastern corner of the peninsula, which formed the kingdom of Granada.

Chief among the Christian States which accomplished this work were the principalities of Castile and Aragon, and near the end of the fifteenth century these two States became united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. The time of Ferdinand and Isabella was one of the most glorious periods of

Spanish history, for the two rulers accomplished what the Christian knights of the peninsula had never lost sight of—the expulsion of the Moors.

Ferdinand marched southward with a splendid army in 1491, determined to reduce the Moorish capital of Granada, which had strong natural and artificial defences. Queen Isabella accompanied her husband. She appeared on the field superbly mounted and dressed in complete armour, and the sight of her fired the troops of Spain with martial ardour. No attempt was made to storm the city, but Ferdinand set his men to work to build a new city almost under the walls of Granada. In about three months the work was done and this proof of the Spanish King's determination did more to reduce the courage of Abdallah, the Moorish Prince, than any amount of loss in actual warfare. He entered into secret negotiations with Ferdinand, and before long agreed to surrender the city.

Thus ended the Mohammedan power in the Spanish Peninsula, about forty years after the Turks had taken Constantinople. A later Spanish King, the Philip I who sent the Armada against England, forbade the Moors of Granada the exercise of their religion, and endeavoured to force Christianity upon them. They rebelled against him, and were put down with great cruelty. After a time many of them were expelled from the country, and Spain was finally freed from the hated presence of the "infidels," losing at the same time, however, a large number of clever and industrious inhabitants.

As we saw in our last chapter, it was Ferdinand and

Isabella who provided ships and men for the famous voyage of Columbus. This led the way to the establishment of a great Spanish Empire in the New World, and helped to raise Spain to a position of supremacy in the Old. The story of the adventurous voyages of the Spaniards to the lands beyond the western ocean is full of interest and adventure—"stranger than fiction"—and we wish we had space to tell it here. But we must note, in passing, the fact that the Spaniards found in America two great and civilized empires, which had been in existence for a long time before Columbus set out across the Atlantic.

One of these empires was that of the Aztecs of Mexico, which at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards stretched across the continent from ocean to ocean. They were governed by a King chosen by a council chiefly for his prowess in war. The monarch lived in great splendour, had many spacious and richly ornamented palaces, and was surrounded by a numerous bodyguard made up of his chief nobles. An old chronicler thus describes the presence-chamber of the Aztec King. The passage gives us a good idea of the state of civilization among these people, who have been called the "Romans of the West."

"In the royal palace of Tezcucó was a courtyard, on the opposite sides of which were two halls of justice. In the principal one, called 'the tribunal of God,' was a throne of pure gold, inlaid with turquoises and other precious stones. On a stool in front was placed a human skull, crowned with an immense emerald, and surmounted by an aigrette of brilliant plumes and

precious stones. The skull was laid on a heap of military weapons—shields, quivers, bows and arrows.

“The walls were hung with tapestry made of the hair of different wild animals, of rich and various colours, festooned by gold rings, and embroidered with figures of birds and flowers. Above the throne was a canopy of variegated plumage, from the centre of which shot forth resplendent rays of gold and jewels. The other tribunal, called the ‘King’s,’ was also surmounted by a gorgeous canopy of flowers, on which were emblazoned the royal arms. Here the Sovereign gave public audience and issued his orders. But when he decided important causes or passed sentence of death, he went to the ‘tribunal of God,’ attended by the fourteen great lords of the realm, marshalled according to their rank. Then, putting on his mitred crown, encrusted with precious stones, and holding a golden arrow, by way of sceptre, in his left hand, he laid his right upon the skull and pronounced judgment.”

The Aztecs were a nation of soldiers, and each man who fell in battle, they said, was at once transported to the bright mansions of the Sun, their chief deity. “The dress of the higher warriors,” writes a historian, “was picturesque and often really magnificent. Their bodies were covered with a close vest of quilted cotton, so thick as to be impenetrable to the light missiles of Indian warfare. This garment was so light and serviceable that it was adopted by the Spaniards. The wealthier chiefs sometimes wore, instead of this cotton mail, a cuirass made of thin plates of gold or silver. Over it was thrown a surcoat of the gorgeous feather-

work in which they excelled. Their helmets were sometimes of wood, fashioned like the heads of wild animals, and sometimes of silver, on the top of which waved a *panache* of variegated plumes, sprinkled with precious stones and ornaments of gold. They wore also collars, bracelets, and earrings made of the same rich materials."

This is enough to show that the Aztecs were no mere savages, and to remind us that while we have been tracing the advancement of civilization in Europe we have missed out what was going on in other parts of the world. After all, what Europeans call "world history" is somewhat fragmentary and incomplete.

The other empire, of which we spoke above, was that of the Incas of Peru, who had reached a high degree of civilization long before they saw the white men from the Old World. Among these people the young men of the higher class were admitted to the ranks of the warriors in much the same way as the young men of Western Europe received the honour of knighthood during the age of chivalry. There was, of course, no religious ceremony of the Christian kind, the young warriors being exhorted merely to make themselves worthy of the might and magnificence of their first ancestor the Sun.

"The Sovereign of the Incas," writes a historian, "was placed at an immeasurable distance above his subjects. Even the proudest of the Inca nobility, claiming a descent from the same divine original as himself, could not venture into the royal presence unless barefoot, and bearing a light burden upon his

shoulders in token of homage. As the representative of the Sun he stood at the head of the priesthood. He raised armies, and usually commanded them in person. He imposed taxes, made laws, and appointed judges. He was the source from which everything flowed—all dignity, all power, all emolument. He was, in short, in the well-known phrase of the European despot, ‘himself the State.’”

Those who wish to learn how the Spaniards overcame the Aztecs and the Incas, and took their lands for themselves, must read the fascinating volumes of W. H. Prescott, entitled *The Conquest of Mexico* and *The Conquest of Peru*. We can only here take note that in a very short time the Spaniards had set up an empire in the New World, which added greatly to the wealth and power of the parent State. When Ferdinand passed away, he was succeeded by his grandson Charles, under whom Spain attained to an even greater height of power and glory.

As the successor of Ferdinand, Charles was ruler of the whole of the Spanish Peninsula, except Portugal, of Sicily and Sardinia, and of the kingdom of Naples in the South of Italy. His other grandfather was the Emperor Maximilian, and when this Sovereign died Charles was elected head of the Holy Roman Empire by the Princes of Germany. Moreover, he ruled the Netherlands and the province of Burgundy to the east of France. The Emperor thus became once more the greatest Sovereign in Europe.

Great as he was—so far as the possession of wide territories could make him great—“Charles’s ambition



CHARLES V., KING OF SPAIN AND EMPEROR.

(From the painting by Titian. Hanfstaengl, Photo.)

was insatiable, and his desire of being distinguished as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior government and improvement of his kingdom—the great objects of every Prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his rule.” So that we see how the greatness of Spain in the days of Charles V. was not the greatness of peace and advancement, but of military power and pomp.

Four times the Emperor went to war with King Francis I. of France, the monarch who met Henry VIII. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In the first of these wars Francis lost one of his bravest leaders, the renowned Chevalier Bayard, who, we are told, was a knight “without fear and without reproach.” So high was he held in honour that when his Sovereign was admitted to the sacred order of knighthood he was asked to give the accolade. In one engagement with the Spaniards he held a bridge single-handed against two hundred men, and when, in another battle with the same foes, he met his death, his body was rendered up to his troops with all reverence and courtesy. “Do not pity me,” he had said to one who found him lying mortally wounded on the field of battle with his face turned towards the foe, “for I die as a man should.”

The reign of Charles V. ended strangely and sadly. Of his own free will he resigned his position as Emperor, and gave up his hereditary possessions to his son Philip. Then he retired to a monastery in Spain,

where he spent the remaining two years of his life in the exercises of religion, watching keenly, however, the current of events in the outer world. With the abdication of Charles Spain was separated from the Holy Roman Empire, for the electors did not choose Philip as Emperor. Spain was, however, still the leading country in Europe. But under Philip she was destined to fall from this high position.

We have already said that Charles V. ruled the Netherlands, which included the countries now known as Holland and Belgium. They were a possession of great value, for the Netherland cities carried on most of the trade of Northern Europe. The northern portion of the Netherlands was German, and contained many Protestants, and Charles had done his best to stamp out the heresy in this part of his dominions. He sent to the country the Church officers known as the Inquisitors, who searched out and punished severely all who dared to hold and profess the new religious doctrines. His son Philip was a still sterner Catholic, and when he came to the throne he made up his mind to carry on this part of his father's work with the utmost rigour and severity.

Philip II. of Spain was the monarch who became the husband of Queen Mary of England. His "beard was singed" by our dauntless Admiral Drake in the harbour of Cadiz, and it was he who sent the Invincible Armada to our shores. He ought to be of special interest to all British boys and girls. But it is only fair to remember that in all he did he was a sincere Catholic, who believed that Protestants ought to be either converted, or, for

the good of their eternal souls, suffer the penalty of death.

Before long his policy of tyranny and repression brought about a revolt in the Netherlands. The struggle lasted for nearly forty years, and the leader on the side of the Netherlands was a German nobleman, William, Prince of Orange, who had been one of the chief courtiers of Charles V. The great contest ended at last in victory for the Netherlands,* who at last threw off the yoke of Spain. The northern provinces became a separate State, of which William of Orange was made chief officer, with the title of Stadtholder.

Philip tried to detach the Prince from the cause he had at heart by the offer of titles, wealth, and high office in his kingdom, but all in vain. Then the Spanish King published a decree declaring him an outlaw, and offering a large reward to anyone who would take his life. Five attempts were made to assassinate him, but without success.

Finally the foul deed was accomplished by a man named Gerard, who managed to hide himself on the stairway leading from the dining-room of the Prince's palace. William was walking leisurely down these stairs after dinner, when the assassin stepped forward and discharged a pistol at his breast. He staggered, and was saved from falling by one of his officers, who gently placed him upon the ground, and called for help. The Prince was carried to the dining-room, laid

* The reader will find the story of the war in J. L. Motley's *Dutch Republic*.

upon a couch, and in a few moments breathed his last. The murderer escaped, but was afterwards caught and put to death. His heirs, however, received the rewards offered by the Spanish King.

William of Orange, who was known as "the Silent," had given his life for the people, who owe their national existence in great part to his genius, his patience, and his never-failing courage. His long struggle with the son of the Emperor whom he had served so faithfully was over, but the end for which he had striven was accomplished. He had won freedom for the people of the Netherlands, and founded a new State in Europe. After his death his dauntless spirit lived on, and nerved the people of Holland to renewed efforts to keep unbroken the liberty to which their great leader had led them. In the year 1609 Spain "agreed to a truce for twelve years," which was in reality an acknowledgment of the independence of the United Provinces, which in due time became known as Holland, while the lands lying to the south were called by the name of the Spanish Netherlands.

Meanwhile Philip II. of Spain had received another severe check by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the year 1588. The story is more or less familiar to every British boy and girl, and is one of the most glorious in the history of our native land. Philip wished to recover England for the Catholic Church, as well as to punish the insolent little State whose sailors had dared to attack his ships on the high seas while they were returning from America laden with silver and other valuable merchandise. There was no

doubt in his own mind that the punishment of England would be a comparatively easy matter, for this country in the time of Elizabeth had no very lofty position among the nations of Europe.

It was in the summer of 1588 that the Invincible Armada set sail. All Englishmen, whether Catholic or Protestant, stood shoulder to shoulder ready to fight to the last. How the ships were harried in the Channel, driven out of Calais harbour, and then sent flying "with a southerly wind to the northward" along the eastern coasts of Britain, we have read again and again. The disaster was a great blow to the naval power and prestige of Spain. It is not too much to say that her gradual fall from her lofty position in Europe and the world may be dated from this time. The Spanish power had received a shock from which it never recovered. Before long the place of Spain as the leading country of Europe was taken by her rival, France, and the story of the rise of France to this proud position will form the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.—THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE.

WHILE Spain had been exhausting herself in trying to subdue the Netherlands and England, events had been taking place in France which led in due time to the beginning of a great career for that country. We have already spoken of the Huguenots, who had adopted the new ideas about religion. They had also new ideas



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about the government of the country in which they lived, thinking, like many people in England at that time, that the government ought to be, partly, at least, in the hands of the people. It was this, as much as their belief on religious matters, which led to strife in France between them and the opposite party. For some time France was torn by civil war, which was only ended when Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots, became King. This was not, however, a triumph for the French Protestants, for in order to win Paris Henry became a Catholic, saying that the city was "worth a Mass." When he became King of the whole country, however, he published an edict which gave religious liberty to the Huguenots. From the time of this King we can watch the rise of France to the first place in Europe.

In the first half of the seventeenth century there was a great struggle in Europe, which is known in history as the Thirty Years' War. It began in Germany, and at first was a contest between Catholics and Protestants, the last of the wars about religion. But after a time it became a struggle between France and the noble House of Austria, as head of the Holy Roman Empire. We have not space to trace the course of this war, but must note that France was the victor in the struggle, and that the Empire was weakened, and became little more than a name. Spain had fallen from her high place in Europe. Germany and Italy were both divided into a number of States continually at war with each other. The way was now open for the advance of France.

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In the time of King Louis XIII., who reigned in France during the time of our Charles I., the affairs of the country were directed by Cardinal Richelieu, who for twenty years was practically ruler of France. This man had two great aims—to make the authority of the French King absolute, and to raise France to the first place in Europe. To increase the power of the King, he saw plainly that he must lessen that of the great noblemen, and to this end he worked steadily and without fear. He brought the nobles within the power of the law, which they had for long evaded, and made them answer for their crimes in a manner which many of them had come to think was meant only for those far beneath them in rank. He razed many of their strong fortresses to the ground, and so made them unable to defy the King as they had done for so long. The King was henceforth to be supreme in the land, and the people of all degrees were to be his servants in everything.

In this work Richelieu was opposed by the Huguenots, who, like the Parliament men of the time of Cromwell, had ideas on the rights of the people which did not agree with the absolute power of the King. The Cardinal therefore resolved to ruin the party, not so much because of their religious beliefs, but because they were his political opponents. He therefore commenced a crusade against them, but when he had beaten them to their knees, he gave them freedom of worship, which shows that this campaign against the French Protestants was not really a religious war.

Richelieu died in 1642, the year of the beginning of

the struggle in England between Charles I. and the Parliament. He left his King complete master of a well-ordered and, on the whole, a prosperous kingdom. In the strong and absolute power of the King, Richelieu saw what he thought was the only sure and safe preventive of lawlessness. He hated anarchy, and he spent his life in suppressing it by means of strengthening the hand of the Sovereign.

The power of this great statesman passed into the hands of his friend, Cardinal Mazarin, who ruled France, and ruled it well, during the childhood of Louis XIV., who was only a boy of five when his father died. But the young King took the direct government into his own hands as soon as he came of age. When Mazarin had passed away, it is said that a Secretary of State approached the King, and asked him to whom the royal officers should now apply for instructions. The King's answer was, "To me," and he soon made it plain that he really intended to become his own Minister. With the help of a wise and able official named Colbert, who had been trained by Mazarin, he set to work to bring about reforms in various directions.

The money affairs of the nation were carefully organized, and while the taxes were lightened to some degree, the treasury of the King was largely enriched; trade, commerce, and agriculture were fostered and encouraged; a royal navy was built; canals and locks, roads and bridges, were constructed; men of science and of letters, artists, sculptors, and architects, were patronized and encouraged; the laws of the kingdom were revised, and in many respects improved; the

army was reorganized, and made to depend more upon the efficiency of its infantry, who were armed with the bayonet. Great attention was paid to military engineering and the construction of fortifications, under the guidance of a famous soldier and engineer named Vauban, of whom it is said that during war he spent his time in taking cities for France, and during peace in fortifying them so that they could never be retaken.

All these reforms and improvements were carried on under the direct control of King Louis, whose will was law. He had succeeded to the absolute power with which Richelieu had endowed Louis XIII., and though he used it in many ways for the advancement of France, yet the people of the country had no voice in the management of the affairs of the nation. “*I am the State,*” the King is reported to have said in reply to one who spoke on one occasion of the claims of the country; and the Court chaplain preached the doctrine: “Kings are gods; they bear on their forehead a Divine character. To speak evil of the King is almost equal to blasphemy.” In England Charles I. was about that time trying to force the same doctrine upon the people, with what result our own history plainly tells.

La Fontaine, a French writer of the time, was the author of the following fable:

The tenant of a bog,
An envious little frog,
Not bigger than an egg,
A stately bullock spies,
And, smitten with his size,
Attempts to be as big.

With earnestness and pains,
 It stretches, swells, and strains,
 And says, "Friend Frog, look here! see me!
 Is this enough?" "No, no!"
 "Well, then, is this?" "Pooh! pooh!
 Enough! You don't begin to be."
 And thus the reptile sits
 Enlarging till it splits.

The world is full of folks
 Of just such wisdom—
 The lordly dome provokes
 The cit to build *his* dome;
 And, truly, there's no telling
 How much great men set little ones a
 swelling.

This was written in mockery of those who tried to rival the splendour of the palace at Versailles, which was built by Louis XIV. In this splendid and spacious palace the "Grand Monarch," as his subjects named him, held his brilliant Court. "The Sovereign was the centre," writes a historian; "the courtiers were planets revolving about him and shining by the reflected light of his splendour. If constant flattery could have killed the King, he would have died young; for poets, preachers, orators, and historians vied with the nobles and with each other in praising his glory and his power."

The Grand Monarch engaged in constant wars, for he was not satisfied with his domestic glory. He aspired, not only to rule the whole of Western Europe, but to establish a colonial empire in America and in India. He was the champion of despotism, and the

champion of civil liberty at the time was the small State which owed its origin to William the Silent. Holland, or the United Provinces, was at this time under the guidance of William, Prince of Orange, who in 1689 became King of England when the Stuart King, James II., was driven from his throne. This Prince schemed and fought all his life to wreck the ambitious and aggressive plans of Louis XIV. In the great European wars of this time we can always distinguish above the confusion these two great antagonists bending all their energies to bring about each other's fall.

We have not space to tell in detail the story of the wars of conquest in which the French King engaged. He began by claiming the Spanish Netherlands in the right of his wife, who was a Princess of Spain. Holland, England, and Sweden opposed him. England was after a while disposed of by the shameful Treaty of Dover, by which Charles II. sold his country's honour and his own. Sweden was induced to withdraw from the contest, and now Holland seemed to lie at the mercy of the French King.

But William of Orange secured the help both of Spain and Germany, and for six years kept up the struggle. During this time the dykes near Amsterdam were cut, and the water allowed to flood a large tract of land, which had the effect of causing the French to retreat. This was done on the advice of William of Orange, who told the Dutch that if need should arise they could go to their colonies in the East Indies, and found new homes for themselves. At the end of this struggle the French King gave up his conquests in

Holland, but kept others which he had made in the Spanish Netherlands and elsewhere.

In the year 1689 William of Orange, now King of England, was able to combine Holland, Austria, Spain, and his new kingdom against France. Louis tried to restore James II. to the throne of England, and some of his soldiers fought side by side with the Irish in the Battle of the Boyne. There were Frenchmen, too, on the side of William of Orange—a regiment of Huguenot refugees who had been driven from France only a few years before. For Louis had reversed the policy of Richelieu, and, by an attempt to make a forcible conversion of the French Protestants, had driven numbers of them to seek new homes in England, Germany, Holland, and America. There were many skilled and industrious workmen among them, and the loss of France was the gain of the countries in which they found a refuge.

The King of Spain was dying, and he had no children. Louis XIV. had married his eldest sister, and claimed for his descendants the crown of Spain. Other Princes claimed it, too. William did not want Louis, who was already so powerful, to have a son or grandson ruling over the Spanish dominions, which, besides Spain, then included a great part of Italy, of the Netherlands, and of America.

Louis, who did not wish to fight again just at the moment, agreed that the dominions of Spain should be divided. After much controversy, it was decided that his grandson Philip should have part, but that Spain itself should go to the son of a ruler of Germany, called

the Archduke Charles. The people of Spain were not asked whom *they* would like for their King.

But when the King of Spain died, he left the whole of his dominions to Philip. The temptation was too great. In spite of the solemn agreement he had made with the other Princes, Louis accepted the inheritance for his grandson. William wished to fight to make him keep his promise, but at first the English Parliament would not hear of it. Just then, however, it happened that James II. died, and Louis at once acknowledged his son as King of this country. The people were very indignant, and were now all eager to fight Louis; but just at this moment they lost their great leader. William's horse one day stumbled over a molehill, and threw him. He broke his collar-bone, and died after a few days.

The war with Louis began, however, and the French King was faced by England, Holland, the Emperor, and the rising German State of Prussia, of which we shall hear again. The struggle which followed was known as the War of the Spanish Succession, and among the many stern fights in the contest was that at Blenheim, where the great English General, the Duke of Marlborough, won his famous victory.

Louis had sent a French army into Germany to attack the Emperor. The French went to Bavaria, whose King was their ally. Marlborough marched from the Netherlands up the Rhine into Germany. Here he met for the first time another famous General, Prince Eugene, who was in the service of the Emperor, and the two became firm friends. They found the French

army near a village called Blenheim, on the Danube, and on the afternoon of August 13, 1704, completely defeated it. The French General became a prisoner, and forty thousand of his men were killed or captured. This great fight ranks among the "world battles" of history. It was the turning-point in the war, and after this Marlborough went on winning victory after victory. But at the end of the struggle Louis was still strong enough to retain the Crown of Spain for his grandson Philip.

Meanwhile the French had been trying to set up an empire in the northern part of America, as well as in far-away India. In both these places they met with the same foe—the British—and in both places they were finally conquered; but this did not happen until some fifty years after the death of Louis XIV.

The Grand Monarch passed away in the year 1715, the first year of the reign of our George I. "The last part of his long reign," writes a historian, "had been as gloomy as the first was glorious. Everything he had depended upon had failed. His armies were no more. His navy was reduced to a few battered hulks. He had lost a great part of his North American colonies. His treasury was empty, his people desperate. His successor was only a feeble child, not likely to live to wear the crown.

"But Louis met death like a King. There was no repining. He met it alone—that is, with no person that he cared for near him. When the news reached Paris, the city could not contain itself for joy. All along the road leading to the royal tomb at St. Denis

the people set up tents and booths. There they drank and sang over their deliverance from a King in whom they had ceased to take pride. There they waited to see the corpse of the Grand Monarch pass by, and to curse it as it passed. No one has summed up the reign better than Guizot. He says: 'The government of Louis XIV. was a great fact, a powerful and brilliant fact, but it was built upon sand.' "

It was about fifty years later, under Louis XV., that the great struggle took place which was to settle whether France or Britain was to be first in America and in India. This struggle was mixed up with a European contest known as the Seven Years' War, in which Frederick of Prussia fought with Maria Theresa of Austria about certain territory in the central part of Europe. Frederick the Great and Britain were on one side, and France and Austria on the other.

The real interest of the struggle lay, however, not in Europe, but in America and India, where, as we have said, France and Britain were rivals. Let us see first what happened in America.

The British had been engaged for about one hundred and fifty years in building up a Greater Britain on the other side of the Atlantic. But France on her part had not been idle. While the British had settled on the Atlantic seaboard, the French claimed the basins of the two great rivers of North America—the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence.

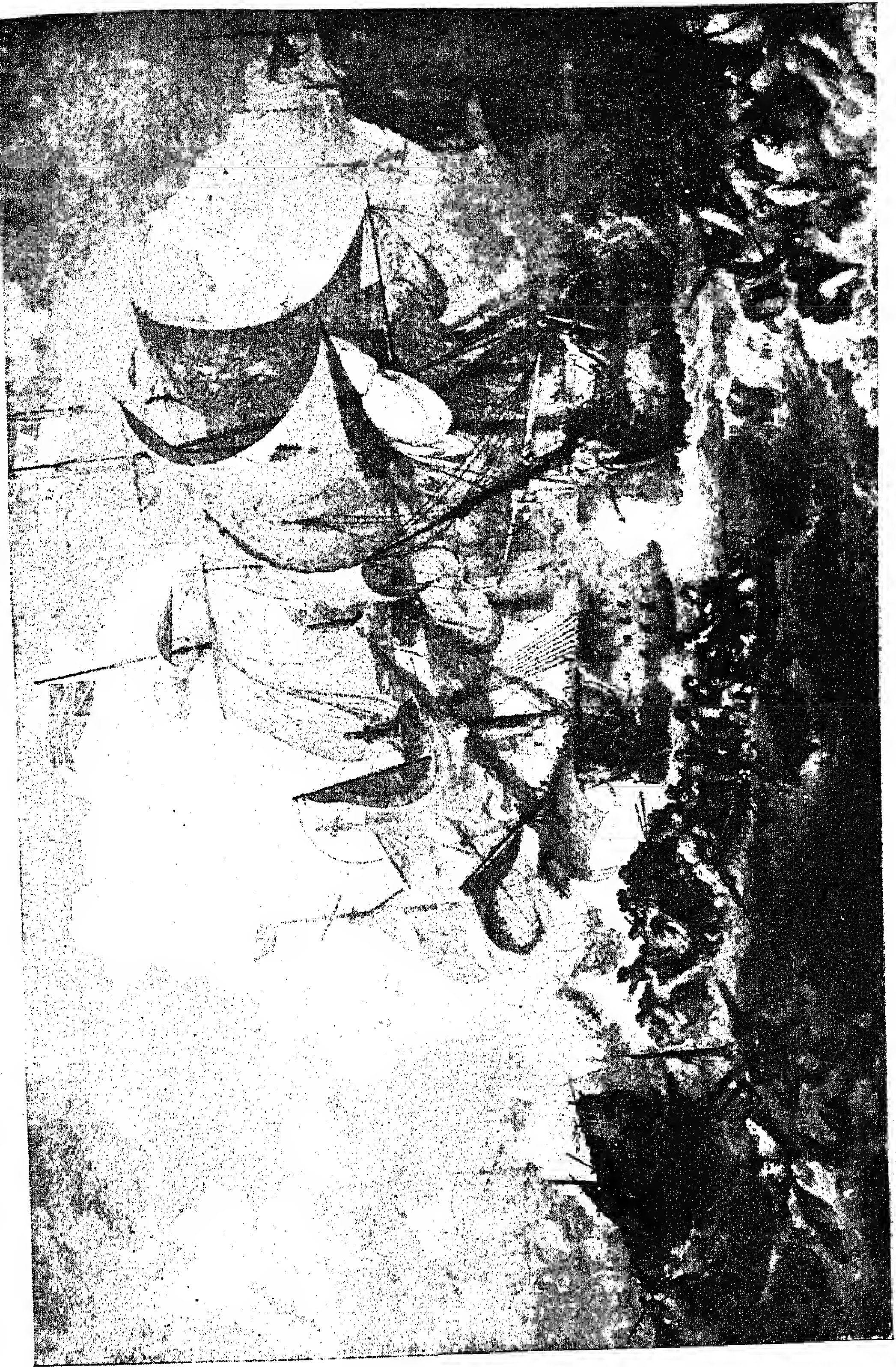
In order to hold these possessions, France had begun to erect a chain of forts extending from Quebec to the Great Lakes, and thence to the Mississippi and

New Orleans. Then they began to set up a second line of forts to prevent British colonists from settling in the valley of the Ohio. This meant that the British were to be shut in between the Alleghany Mountains and the Atlantic, and that France would hold all the best part of the continent. In time she doubtless hoped that her people would drive the British into the sea. The contest in America, therefore, was a war of races, the prize being one of the richest expanses of territory in the world.

After four years of fighting, the death-struggle came in 1759 before the gates of the French city of Quebec. Montcalm, one of the noblest and bravest of French Generals, held the city, while the British General, James Wolfe, had been sent by Pitt, the great statesman, to take it. In the terrible battle on the Heights of Abraham, near the walls of the stronghold, the British won a decisive victory, but the leader on each side fell with a mortal wound.

By the treaty which was arranged some time later France gave up practically everything. "Of all her boasted possessions in America, she now retained absolutely nothing that she could call her own, except two barren little islands off Newfoundland, which were given her to dry fish on. That memorable treaty settled the fact that America was not to be a dependency of France, but that it was to become the home of the English-speaking race, destined to establish themselves in the course of the next twenty years as a free and independent nation."

Two years before Wolfe and Montcalm fought at



“THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE.”

Quebec a great British victory was won at Plassey in Bengal, which practically laid the foundation of our rule in India. For some time before that the French, under an able Governor named Dupleix, had been trying to establish themselves firmly in India. But Robert Clive, who began his career in India as a clerk, spoilt his plans, and began the work which made us in due time masters of India. Thus in these two distant parts of the world Britain fought with France, and in each place proved the victor.

Some twenty years later, however, France had an opportunity of scoring against her old foe, which she was not slow to seize. The British colonists in America quarrelled with the Mother Country over the question of taxation, and soon there was open war between Britain and her daughter State. After some fighting, the colonists were joined by France, and greatly helped by that country to win their independence. Thus there came into being a new country known as the United States of America, now one of the world's Great Powers.

Thus we see how the struggle went on between Britain and France. In the next chapter we shall see how it continued, and how it finally ended.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE RISE OF BRITAIN.

WE have now to trace the course of the great struggle between Britain and France, which reached its height at the end of the eighteenth century, and was settled

in the early years of the nineteenth. But before we begin this interesting work, let us take a glance backward in order to mark the great movements in our career as a nation.

We shall do well to remember that though our native land now occupies a very high place among the great countries of the world she has not always held this proud position. Boys and girls who take a natural and proper pride in their own country are very apt to forget that at one time she held a very lowly place among the nations. When the great Roman Empire was at its height of power and splendour, Britain lay on the outskirts of civilization, and its people were numbered among the barbarians, whom the proud Romans looked upon with the utmost scorn.

When Charlemagne was ruling as Emperor of the Romans, England was by comparison with his great Empire a very insignificant country indeed. The England of Henry II. was only part of his great possessions, and by no means the most important part. As time went on our country grew in power and strength, and under Elizabeth she gained a well-defined place among the nations. But even at that time the Kings of Europe regarded her with some amount of scorn. It was very late in the history of Europe before the Emperor, the head of the Holy Roman Empire and the "successor" of Cæsar Augustus, would acknowledge the right of the Sovereigns of England to take to themselves the royal title, his view being, in spite of the facts of history, that there was only one royal house in the whole wide world.

We may divide our history into two broad divisions, taking the date 1603 as the dividing point. Before this date we were busily engaged for the most part in settling two great questions at one and the same time. The first was, How can the various races of these islands—English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish—settle down and live peaceably together? The second was, Is Britain to be a Continental country, holding possessions on the mainland of Europe, and taking her share in the settlement of the nations within well-defined boundaries?

If we get into the habit of looking at history whole, we can find from our national story the answer to each of these two great questions. We can watch the gradual drawing together of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland* during our first period. The union was not accomplished without much war and bloodshed, it is true. But when Elizabeth died, and the Scottish King James became the first King of Great Britain and Ireland, the matter had been as good as settled. These islands of ours were henceforth to form one united country under one Sovereign, and the people of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were to do their work in the world side by side.

By the time of Elizabeth the second great question had also been answered. It was during the time of her half-sister Mary, who preceded her, that we lost Calais, the last of our possessions, on the French mainland; and we remember how Mary mourned bitterly at the loss, and said that after her death the name of Calais

* In a less degree.

would be found written upon her heart. The Sovereigns of Britain were still for a long time to call themselves Kings or Queens of France, but this was now a mere empty form, and might have been dropped earlier. Britain's place in the world was not among the Continental States of Europe. We see her now drawing apart behind her sea-wall, and preparing to use her superabundant energy in other directions outside of Europe.

About sixty years before the great Elizabeth ascended the throne, Christopher Columbus made his famous voyage across the Atlantic, and led the way to the New World. This voyage had a great effect upon the course of our national life. Before the time of Columbus we stood, as it were, on the outer ring of the nations. The discovery and colonization of America placed us in due time in the centre of the modern world, and showed us that our work among the nations was to be wider than that of any European State, however great its history in the past.

We can date the beginning of what has been fitly called the "Expansion of England"* from the time of Queen Elizabeth—that is, some three hundred years ago. And the second great period of our national life is largely concerned with the question which has already faced us. Which of the nations of Europe was to be first in the lands beyond the sea? It was a vital question for us, cooped up as we were within

* The "Expansion of Britain" would be still more fit. The phrase quoted above is, of course, the title of Sir J. R. Seeley's fascinating volume.

our sea-girt borders—much more vital than it was for France, which could, and can even now, feed and support her own population.

When the bold sailors of Queen Elizabeth's time began to sail to America in search of trade and treasure and lands in which colonies might be founded, they had to reckon in the first place, as we have seen, with Spain, then by far the greatest Power in the world. Travellers from that country had followed closely on the heels of Columbus, and opened up the rich treasure-lands of Central and South America, and Spain was firmly settled in the New World before our sailors turned the prows of their little wooden vessels "Westward ho!"

Spain in her great might determined to crush entirely the islanders who dared to annoy her and dispute her predominance in the new lands across the ocean, and for this reason, as much as any other, the Great Armada was sent to our shores. How this "great fleet invincible" was beaten and driven round the north of Britain, to find its way, shattered and disgraced, to the ports of Spain, our history books do not forget to tell us. We may date from this great victory our rise as a European nation, and the settlement of our claim to have a footing in the New World.

The great power of Spain declined, as we have already seen, from this date, but the way was still by no means clear for the founding of our Empire. Holland, now one of the "little peoples" of Europe, after having, under William the Silent, thrown off the hated yoke of Spain, quickly became a busy and wealthy sea-faring nation. And France became, under Louis XIV.,



ADMIRAL MARTIN VAN TROMP OF THE DUTCH NAVY (1597-1658).

the greatest Power in Europe. With these two nations we had to reckon, and the reckoning was not only long, but costly, both in lives and treasure.

With France we fought for a hold on North America, and when Wolfe had won the Battle of Quebec this bitter struggle was practically ended. With France also we fought in India, and there Robert Clive checked the progress of her great leader, Dupleix, and founded our Indian Empire. With Holland we struggled for trade in the East and West Indies, and we ended by planting ourselves firmly in both these quarters of the world. And in time, too, we won from the Dutch the colony at the Cape of Good Hope. It was from Holland that sailors set out to explore the southern seas, and Australia was long known as New Holland, though the Dutch did not settle in it. This great land, too, at a later date became British, and is now the home of a new nation of our countrymen.

But the fight with France for North America and India was not the end of our rivalry with our powerful neighbour. Another great struggle was to take place—a bitter contest, over which blood and treasure were spent in profusion. This was the struggle for supremacy which we referred to at the beginning of this chapter, and with which we are now better prepared to deal.

The actual fighting arose out of a great change which took place in France, and which is known in history as the French Revolution. For a long time France had been very badly governed. In order to carry on the great wars in which we have seen that country engaged the people had to pay very heavy taxes. But the rich

nobles and clergymen paid a very small share of these, while the poor people had to pay so much that they had very little left to live upon.

The nobles and clergy were favoured in every way. The poor people who lived on their lands had to pay taxes to them as well as to the King, and to stand by and see grand hunting-parties riding all over their young crops, or flocks of pigeons from the lord's manor-house eating up their corn. The King, Louis XVI., was a good-hearted man, but he was not strong-minded or wise enough to put things right, and his beautiful young Queen, Marie Antoinette, was gay and thoughtless, and wasted a great deal of money on her own amusements.

The King got deeply into debt, and in the year 1789 he had to call together a kind of French Parliament called the Estates General, which had not met for nearly two hundred years. It was elected by all the different classes of the nation; but very soon those members who were not chosen by the nobles and clergy got all the power into their hands, and began to make great changes, and to do away with the unfair privileges which the favoured classes had enjoyed.

When the King tried to check them, they turned against him. An angry mob marched out of Paris to his palace at Versailles, broke into it, killed some of his guards, and brought him back to Paris, where he was practically a prisoner. Then the peasants rose all over France, plundering and burning the country houses of the nobles.

After a time the King and Queen, with their children.

nearly managed to escape out of the country. But they were recognised and brought back, and after this they were guarded more closely than ever. Many of the nobles fled to other lands, and tried to persuade the Kings of those countries to invade France, and put down the revolutionary movement. By this time it was beginning to be felt that the Revolution was dangerous to the other countries of Europe, because the French were encouraging the people of other nations to rise against their rulers also.

Three years after the Revolution began the rulers of Austria and Prussia invaded France. This only made the French people more angry with the King and the nobles. Bands of armed men burst into the prisons of Paris, which were crowded with aristocrats suspected of favouring the invaders, and massacred the prisoners in cold blood. The King was deposed and imprisoned. France was declared a republic. The foreign enemies were defeated and driven out of the country. At the beginning of the year 1793 the King was brought to trial on a charge of "favouring the enemies of France," and condemned to die on the guillotine.

At first many people in England were pleased about the French Revolution, for they hoped that now the French would obtain a free Parliament like their own, and enjoy better government. But when they heard of all the violent doings in France they changed their minds, and began to look upon the Revolution with anger and dread. William Pitt, who was Prime Minister at the time, struggled very hard to avert war



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

(From the painting by Callet. Neurdein, Photo.)

and for five years was able to do so. But when the French began to stir up revolutions in other countries he saw that Britain could no longer remain inactive; and, indeed, directly after the execution of Louis XVI. France declared war upon her.

Meanwhile there began in France a dreadful time, which is known as the Reign of Terror. The Government fell into the hands of very violent men, and the people seemed to be athirst for the blood of their old oppressors. The Queen was beheaded a few months after her husband. Everyone who could possibly be classed among the hated aristocrats was thrust into prison, and day after day batches of them were sent off in carts to the guillotine. No mercy was shown to women and old people, or even boys and girls.

At last the men who had caused all this bloodshed were guillotined themselves. The Reign of Terror came to an end, and a more orderly Government was set up. But the French had no idea of giving up their Republic, although England, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Holland were all fighting against them. The whole of the French nation rose in arms. At first their armies were ragged, ill-fed, and disorderly, and were generally defeated. But they showed the most wonderful courage, and very soon they became splendid soldiers, and were everywhere victorious, and so great became their prestige that one after another of their enemies made peace with them until only Austria and England were left fighting.

It was about this time that there came into notice a young officer in the French artillery whose name was

Napoleon Bonaparte. He was really an Italian, for he was born in the island of Corsica in 1769. But Corsica then, as now, belonged to France, so Bonaparte entered the French army. He was a man of small stature, but handsome, with an olive-coloured skin and watchful gray-blue eyes. He became one of the most famous men the world has ever seen. He was a great soldier and a great ruler; but with all his greatness he was not a good man, for he cared for little beyond himself and the satisfaction of his inordinate ambition. His one aim was to make himself powerful and famous, and he took little heed of the blood and treasure he spent in carrying out his selfish plans.

He was only twenty-seven years old when he first proved his generalship before the world. He was placed at the head of a French army which invaded Italy to fight the soldiers of the monarch who still called himself "*the Emperor.*" Napoleon won the most brilliant victories, drove the Austrians out of Italy, and forced them to make peace with France. Then England stood single-handed face to face with him.

In the year 1804 Napoleon was chosen Emperor of the French, and crowned in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame in Paris. This was more than an ordinary royal coronation, and we must try to understand its implied meaning. How was it that Napoleon came to use the imperial title which belonged to *the Emperor Francis II.*, who ruled in Vienna as head of the Holy Roman Empire?

Strange as it may read, Napoleon saw in himself

the successor of Charlemagne, whom the French have always regarded, though quite wrongly, as belonging to their nation. His great ambition was to revive the Empire with France as its centre, to bring all Europe within its boundaries, and to occupy himself the throne of Charlemagne, and therefore of Cæsar Augustus—to be, in short, the ruler of the world.

He therefore brought the Pope to the French capital, who anointed him as “Emperor.” But as a sign that there was to be no dual control of the new Empire Napoleon performed the act of crowning himself. He was also crowned at Milan, in imitation of the old Emperors. His claim to succeed Charlemagne was, of course, absurd, but the establishment of this new Empire marks the death of that revived by the great Frankish King rather more than one thousand years earlier. Two years later the Emperor Francis II. published a declaration to the effect that he resigned the imperial title, and henceforth he was known as the Austrian Emperor.

France was now once more under the rule of one man—a ruler as absolute as any of the monarchs before the Revolution. Napoleon was master of his own country, and set out to make himself master of Europe. Before he came to his inevitable fall he had in a most wonderful manner almost realized his ambition. At Austerlitz he crushed the Austrians and Russians, and then occupied Vienna. Holland was converted into a monarchy, and the crown given to his brother Louis. Sixteen of the German States were leagued together into a confederation, which passed under his pro-



THE CROWNING OF JOSEPHINE BY NAPOLEON.

tection. A new German State, the kingdom of Westphalia, was set up, and given to his brother Jerome. At Jena and Auerstadt he humbled the powerful German kingdom of Prussia, and almost destroyed her independence. He compelled the King of Spain to abdicate, and placed his brother Joseph on the throne of that country. Rome was annexed to France, and the Pope carried away captive by a French army.

But Britain withstood the conqueror and the little kingdom of Sardinia, of which we shall hear again in a later chapter dealing with modern Italy. The new Emperor carefully planned an invasion of England, and prepared, in hopeful anticipation, medals bearing the inscription, "Struck at London, 1804." But Nelson spoiled his plans, and at Trafalgar dealt the first decisive blow at his power. Then Wellington, with infinite patience and dogged persistence, delivered Spain from his armies. In Russia he met with repulse, and was compelled to make that disastrous retreat from Moscow which lost him 300,000 brave fellows of the *Grande Armée*.

Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Austria leagued together, and at Leipsic, in 1813, the Allies defeated his "army of boys" who had taken the place of the brave veterans left on the plains of Russia. Then the Allies marched to Paris, forced the fallen conqueror to abdicate, and sent him to the little island of Elba, off the Italian coast, where he was allowed to retain the style of Emperor, so low had the proud title fallen. One year passed, and he escaped to France, raised an

army with the utmost readiness, so great was the magnetic power of the man, and in due time met Wellington at Waterloo. The rest we know from our English history—the great defeat, the flight of the beaten Emperor, the refuge on board one of the ships of the navy which had done so much to spoil his plans, the last six years spent on the lonely island of St. Helena.

“Into a score of years,” writes Lord Rosebery, “he crowded his own dazzling career, his conquests, his triumphant assault on the Old World. In that brief space we see the lean, hungry conqueror swell into the Sovereign, and then into the Sovereign of sovereigns. Then comes the catastrophe. He loses the balance of his judgment, and becomes a curse to his own country and to all others. He cannot be still himself, or give mankind an instant of repose. His neighbours’ landmarks become playthings to him; he cannot leave them alone; he manipulates them for the mere love of moving them. His island enemy is on his nerves; he sees her everywhere; he strikes at her blindly and wildly. And so he produces universal unrest, universal hostility. But he pursues his path as if possessed, as if driven by the inward sting of some burning devil. Then there is the inevitable collapse, and at St. Helena we are watching with curious compassion the reaction and decline.”

During the long war by which Britain helped to save Europe from Napoleon’s tyranny she spent millions of money. Yet all the time she had been growing in wealth. Her trade had increased enormously. She had captured nearly every colony belonging to her

foes. At the Peace she gave many of them back, but she kept Malta and some of the West Indian Islands, which she had taken from the French, and the Cape of Good Hope, which she had taken from the Dutch. She was now in a position to develop and extend her over-sea empire, and we propose to study this expansion in our next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE GROWTH OF GREATER BRITAIN.

AFTER the loss of our American colonies, of which we read in a previous chapter, another colonial empire began to grow up, and during the reign of Queen Victoria increased in extent and importance in the most astonishing way. At the present day the British Empire covers more than one-fifth of the whole surface of the globe, and contains more than a quarter of all the people in the world.

We have already spoken of our Indian Empire, with its three hundred millions of inhabitants, more or less under our authority. We must now see how our real colonies, the largest of which are peopled by free and self-governing Britons, have grown since the beginning of the reign of Victoria, until they now contain, besides many peoples of different races, more than eleven millions of our own kindred.

For many years the old French settlers near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, whom we had conquered, and the later British settlers higher up the river had occupied separate provinces, the former known as

Lower, the latter as Upper Canada. Shortly after Queen Victoria's accession they became discontented, and those in Lower Canada were just ready to rise in rebellion. But Britain had learned a lesson from the American Revolution. Instead of trying to crush them, she sent out Lord Durham as a commissioner to see if he could cure their discontent.

He recommended that the colonists should be satisfied by giving them much more power to manage their own affairs without interference from the Mother Country. In time his idea of how colonies should be managed was accepted at home, and has ever since been adhered to; and this is, *to give them the utmost freedom in governing themselves*. We are a free nation ourselves, and we like the new British nations growing up across the seas to be free within the Empire.

Another thing which Lord Durham advised was also carried out, though not until some years later. This was to allow any other British colonies in North America which chose to do so to join themselves to Canada, and to have one Parliament to manage affairs which concerned them all. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were the first to do this, then one after another all the others, except Newfoundland, came in, until now the Dominion of Canada stretches across North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Its fisheries, its forests, and, above all, its boundless corn-lands, which have won for it the name of "Britain's Granary," make it one of the most important parts of Greater Britain.

Australia, another British State, is the largest island

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in the world, twenty-five times as big as the British Isles. As long ago as the time of our Stuart Kings this land was known to Dutch explorers, the first to make discoveries in those southern seas. In 1770 Captain Cook sailed along the east coast of Australia, and took possession of it in the name of Great Britain. He stayed for a week in Botany Bay (near where the great town of Sydney now stands), which received its name from the numerous different kinds of wonderful Australian plants which Cook's officers picked there to take back to England. In 1788 the first British settlement was made there. The colony was called New South Wales, the name which Captain Cook had given to the whole continent, which, however, by this time had been named Australia—that is, the southern land. There was no one to oppose the coming of the new settlers, for, except for a few of the very lowest savages, Australia was an empty continent.

Soon Tasmania, the large island to the south of Australia, was settled, then Western Australia and South Australia. All these colonies were established when Queen Victoria came to the throne. The present colonies of Victoria and Queensland were at first part of New South Wales, and were separated from it later in Victoria's reign, as their names show.

In 1851, on the discovery of gold in Victoria, people flocked there from all parts of the world, all infected with the "gold fever," making haste to be rich. The quantity of gold found in Victoria and the other Australian colonies has been immense, and still there is a constant supply.

Although Australia is really only about fifty years old, she has now a population of over 3,000,000, and cities, such as Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, resembling those of Europe in size and in all the newest improvements. Sheep-farming has increased so rapidly that now the wool of Australia is worth more than her gold. Each colony, as it became fit for it, was given the right to manage its own affairs, and in 1901 the six separate colonies united themselves into the Commonwealth of Australia.

Another colony which dates from the reign of Victoria is New Zealand, a group of islands about 1,200 miles from Australia, with a very healthy climate, fertile soil, and grand mountain scenery. Although named by Tasman, a Dutch explorer, after a province of Holland, they were first made known to the world by Captain Cook, but did not become a British colony until 1839. Then a treaty was made with the natives, a fine race called the Maoris, by which they agreed to let the English settle amongst them, and to take our Queen as theirs, on condition that we paid for all the land which we took. Afterwards the Maoris repented and made war on the colonists, but the latter overcame them, and now the Maoris are dying out. New Zealand produces wool and wheat, but its greatest trade to-day is in frozen meat.

We now come to the British territories in Africa, which have grown enormously during the last century, and especially within the last twenty years. On the west coast we have many important trading settle-

ments, but with so bad a climate that Europeans can scarcely live there.

Much more important are our dominions in South Africa. Here we now have Cape Colony, Natal, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland, and quite lately have added to these the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. These South African dominions have a very healthy climate, boundless lands waiting to be cultivated, coal-fields and gold-mines and diamond mines, which have received eager attention, a trade too, in wool and wines and ostrich feathers. Besides the colonies mentioned above, lands belonging to the British South Africa Company stretch far away towards Central Africa.

Perhaps some day these will unite with the British territories in Eastern and Central Africa, which extend from the coast inwards to the great lakes in which the River Nile takes its rise. These are not British colonies, but are under British "protection." It is only quite lately that anything has been known of the middle of Africa. During the second half of the nineteenth century many brave explorers had gone through untold dangers and hardships to learn its secrets. Amongst the foremost of these was David Livingstone, the great Scotch missionary and explorer. Since these discoveries nearly all the European nations have been working for a share of Africa, and most of the "Great Dark Continent" is now divided out amongst them.

There is another part of Africa where Britain is now very powerful, but which is not included within

the borders of her world-wide Empire. This is the ancient land of Egypt, of which we read in one of the first chapters of this book, the home of the earliest civilization of which history tells us.

The Indian Mutiny, which took place in the middle period of Queen Victoria's reign, showed among other things how important it was for us to have a quick way of getting to India. The very year in which the Mutiny was put down a railway was laid across the Isthmus of Suez. A much greater improvement was the ship-canal opened in 1869, by which the largest ocean steamers could pass from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. A traveller who crosses France and Italy by train, and then takes a steamer along the Mediterranean, through the Canal, down the Red Sea, and across the Indian Ocean, can now reach Bombay from England in seventeen days, while two more days in the train takes him on to Calcutta. This journey, when Clive went out round the Cape of Good Hope, occupied more than six months.

The Suez Canal has made Egypt more than ever the "highway to India." But Great Britain took no share in making it, and had at first no voice in its management. The money for making the Canal was lent partly by people in France, and this gave the French for some time much power in Egypt.

Egypt is nominally a province of the Turkish Empire, but beyond making the Khedive, or ruler of Egypt, pay him a yearly tribute, the Sultan has nothing to do with its government. In 1875 the Khedive wished to sell his share in the Canal. Mr. Disraeli,

who was then Prime Minister of England, saw what a good thing it would be to secure for Great Britain a voice in the management of this new route to India, and he persuaded Parliament to buy the Khedive's share. England and France had now great power over the Khedive. He did not like this, and gave much trouble, and it ended in his being deposed by the Sultan, and his son was set up in his place. After this an English and a French Minister together managed all the money affairs of Egypt, and the Egyptians were much better off for the change.

We have not space to tell here of the part played by such men as Gordon in the modern history of Egypt, nor of the pitiful tragedy of the death of that brave British officer and Christian gentleman. The story of Kitchener's campaigns, his capture of Khartoum, and the establishment of a college in that city, now the outpost of civilization towards the south, is also familiar to every boy and girl who knows anything of the history of the present generation. In the ancient land of the Pharaohs Britain has now a firm and well-established position, and has used her influence to stamp out slavery, to develop the resources of the country, to rearrange its money affairs, and to provide it with a native army capable of holding its own against any enemy.

At the present day we look upon Britain and her colonies as all part of one great Empire. The latter are Britain's daughters, able to manage their own households, but all part of one family, speaking the same mother-tongue, keeping up the family love of freedom,

united by affection, proud of their union, and wishful to draw the family bond closer, if may be. Great Britain shorn of her colonies would hold a very different place in the world from that which she now occupies ; the colonies would be weaker if they were not parts of a great Empire. United, the British Empire has doubtless a wonderful future before it.

We have in the British Empire of to-day a World Empire of a new type. It is not made up of a number of subject States, compelled to obey a strong central power by the force of arms. It consists, in the first place, of a union or confederation of certain British lands, united by the fact that they look to one Sovereign as their head, but free to govern themselves and develop their own resources. In the old sense of the word, the British Empire is not an empire at all. There is an Indian Empire of which our King is the head, and which is ruled by British officers. But even in India the people can scarcely be described as subject races. They are governed as justly and mildly as the people of our own country are governed. They have to pay taxes, but the money is not used to enrich the British Treasury or British officials. This is the modern idea of empire - freedom, coupled with willing loyalty.

Now, while Britain was fighting Napoleon and developing her empire over the sea, the other great States of Europe were also passing through momentous changes. Let us, in conclusion, learn a few interesting facts about later Continental history, and so bring our long story to a close.

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At the present day we look upon Britain and her colonies as all part of one great Empire. The latter are Britain's daughters, able to manage their own households, but all part of one family, speaking the same mother-tongue, keeping up the family love of freedom,

united by affection, proud of their union, and wishful to draw the family bond closer, if may be. Great Britain shorn of her colonies would hold a very different place in the world from that which she now occupies ; the colonies would be weaker if they were not parts of a great Empire. United, the British Empire has doubtless a wonderful future before it.

We have in the British Empire of to-day a World Empire of a new type. It is not made up of a number of subject States, compelled to obey a strong central power by the force of arms. It consists, in the first place, of a union or confederation of certain British lands, united by the fact that they look to one Sovereign as their head, but free to govern themselves and develop their own resources. In the old sense of the word, the British Empire is not an empire at all. There is an Indian Empire of which our King is the head, and which is ruled by British officers. But even in India the people can scarcely be described as subject races. They are governed as justly and mildly as the people of our own country are governed. They have to pay taxes, but the money is not used to enrich the British Treasury or British officials. This is the modern idea of empire—freedom, coupled with willing loyalty.

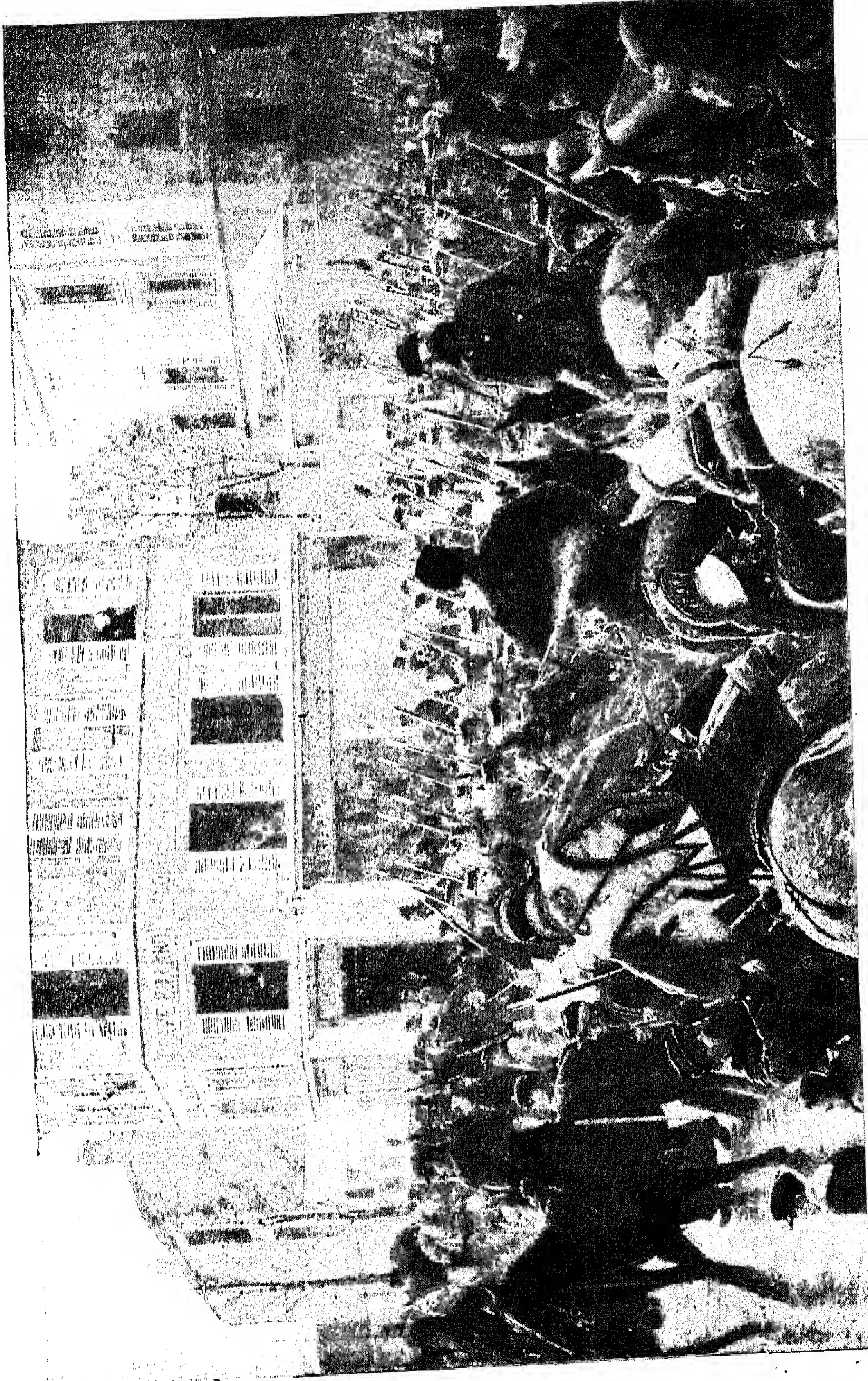
Now, while Britain was fighting Napoleon and developing her empire over the sea, the other great States of Europe were also passing through momentous changes. Let us, in conclusion, learn a few interesting facts about later Continental history, and so bring our long story to a close.

CHAPTER XXIV.—THE MODERN NATIONS.

LET us begin with France, the country with which we fought so desperately during the time of Napoleon. After the famous Battle of Waterloo, France passed through several great changes before she settled down into her present position as a republic. Napoleon was followed by King Louis XVIII., who ruled on the whole as a constitutional Sovereign, sharing the government with an elected national Parliament, as our own monarchs had done, more or less, long before the French Revolution. But his successor, Charles X., tried in a measure to go back to the old system which had been so forcibly swept away at the French Revolution. This led to another rising in 1830, by which he lost his crown, and was driven from the country.

He was followed on the throne by Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who tried to rule as a "citizen king," lost the favour of his people, and at last, in 1848, signed an abdication, and took refuge in England. The next head of the French State was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the great "world-victor," who became President of a new French Republic, and after a time won over the army, dismissed the people's representatives, seized and imprisoned most of his opponents, and took the title of Emperor Napoleon III.

He occupied the throne of France when, in the year 1870, the great Franco-German War broke out. The Germans, under the King of Prussia, marched to Paris, which they besieged, and after about five months entered in triumph. The war was brought to an end,



DEPARTURE OF FRENCH TROOPS (FRANCO-GERMAN WAR).

(From the painting by Binet. Levy et ses fils, Photo.)

DISCOURSE VII

With this discourse begins an exposition of the nature of Reality and the secret of devotion.

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

मय्यासक्तमनाः पार्थ योगं युञ्जन् मदाश्रयः ।

असंशयं समग्रं मां यथा ज्ञास्यसि तच्छृणु ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said :

1. Hear, O Partha, how, with thy mind rivetted on Me, by practising *yoga* and making Me the sole refuge, thou shalt, without doubt, know Me fully.

ज्ञानं तेऽहं सविज्ञानम् इदं वक्ष्याम्यशेषतः ।

यज्ज्ञात्वा नेह भूयोऽन्यत् ज्ञातव्यमवशिष्यते ॥ २ ॥

2. I will declare to thee, in its entirety, this knowledge, combined with discriminative knowledge, which when thou hast known there remains here nothing more to be known.

[The words *jnana* and *vijnana* occur about half a dozen times in the Gita. Shankaracharya has always translated them 'knowledge' and 'experience' (in the sense of Self-realization). But *jnana* itself is nothing less than Self-realization, and thus it would be tautologous to say 'knowledge and experience.' Other translators (like Tilak, for instance) have taken *vijnana* to mean knowledge of the physical world. Dr. Radhakrishnan takes it to mean 'the intellectual apprehension of the details of existence', and *jnana* as 'the integral knowledge of the common foundation of existence.' I am inclined to think that the explanation of these terms is to be sought in the *Sankhyan* use of them. There *jnana* is experience of the Self, and

vijnana is discriminative knowledge of the Self as distinct from all that is not-Self. The *Samkhya Karika* says that emancipation from all misery is possible only by a discriminative knowledge of the unmanifest, the manifest, and the knower. It is this discriminative knowledge that the *Upanishad* has in view when *Brh. 2. 4. 5* says *Atman* has to be seen, harkened to, thought on,* and understood as distinct from all that is not-Self — *vijijnasitavyah.*x]

मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद् यतति सिद्धये ।

यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन् मां वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ॥ ३ ॥

3. Among thousands of men hardly one strives after perfection; among those who strive hardly one knows Me in truth.

[Cf. *Dhammapada* 182 "Hard it is to be born as man; hard it is to live as one; hard likewise to hear the Right Law said; and rare is the birth of the Awakened" (the attainment of the state of the Buddha)].*

भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।

अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥ ४ ॥

4. Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ether, Mind, Reason and Ego — thus eightfold is my *prakriti* divided.

This eightfold *prakriti* is substantially the same as the field described in XIII. 5 and the perishable Being in XV. 16.

अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।

जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ॥ ५ ॥

* आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः ।
बृहदारण्यक. २. ४. ५

x सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः । छांदो० ८. ७. १

+किञ्चो मनुस्सपटिलाभो । किञ्चं मच्चान जीवितं ॥

किञ्चं सद्धम्मसवणं । किञ्चो बुद्धानमुप्पादो ॥ धम्मपद १८२

5. This is My lower aspect; but know thou My other aspect, the higher — which is *Jiva* (the Vital Essence) by which, O Mahabahu, this world is sustained.

एतद्योनीनि भूतानि सर्वाणीत्युपधारय ।

अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ॥ ६ ॥

6. Know that these two compose the source from which all beings spring; I am the origin and end of the entire universe.

मत्तः परतरं नान्यत् किञ्चिदस्ति धनंजय ।

मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोक्तं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ॥ ७ ॥

7. There is nothing higher than I, O Dhana-jaya; all this is strung on Me as a row of gems upon a thread.

[Cf. Koran : 'He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth. High be He exalted above all.' (16.3)]

रसोऽहमप्सु कौंतेय प्रभास्मि शशिसूर्ययोः ।

प्रणवः सर्ववेदेषु शब्दः खे पौरुषं नृषु ॥ ८ ॥

8. In water I am the savour, O Kaunteya; in the sun and the moon I am the light; the syllable *AUM* in all the Vedas; the sound in ether, and manliness in men.

[For *AUM* see my note on VIII. 11-13.]

पुण्यो गंधः पृथिव्यां च तेजश्चास्मि विभावसौ ।

जीवनं सर्वभूतेषु तपश्चास्मि तपस्विषु ॥ ९ ॥

9. I am the sweet fragrance in earth; the brilliance in fire; the life in all beings; and the austerity in ascetics.

बीजं मां सर्वभूतानां विद्धि पार्थ सनातनम् ।

बुद्धिर्बुद्धिमतामस्मि तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम् ॥ १० ॥

10. Know Me, O Partha, to be the primeval seed of all beings; I am the reason of rational beings and the splendour of the splendid.

बलं बलवतामस्मि कामरागविवर्जितम् ।

धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ॥ ११ ॥

11. Of the strong I am the strength, divorced from lust and passion; in beings I am desire undivorced from righteousness.

[I. e. *sattvika* strength, devoid of lust which is the characteristic of *rajas* and passion which is that of *tamas*. The four objects of pursuit of man are known as *dharma* (righteousness), *artha* (wealth), *kama* (desire for progeny, fame etc.), *moksha* (freedom). When *artha* and *kama* are divorced from *dharma* they lead not to *moksha* but to perdition.]

ये चैव सात्त्विका भावा राजसास्तामसाश्च ये ।

मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि ॥ १२ ॥

12. Know that all the manifestations of the three *gunas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, proceed from none but Me; yet I am not in them, they are in Me.

God is not dependent on them, they are dependent on Him. Without Him those various manifestations would be impossible.

त्रिभिर्गुणमयैर्भावैर् एभिः सर्वमिदं जगत् ।

मोहितं नाभिजानाति मामेभ्यः परमव्ययम् ॥ १३ ॥

13. Befogged by these manifestations of the three *gunas*, the entire world fails to recognize Me, the imperishable, as transcending them.

[The manifestations are due to Him, as we have seen in *Shl.* 12, but man stands between Him and the manifestations which befog and daze him. Deluded man (14-15) thus turns his back on Him. As St. Augustine has finely said: "For I had my back to the Light and my face to the things enlightened, whence my face with which I discerned the things enlightened, itself was not enlightened."]

दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया ।

मामेव ये प्रपद्यन्ते मायामेतां तरन्ति ते ॥ १४ ॥

14. For this My divine delusive mystery made up of the three *gunas* is hard to pierce; but those who make Me their sole refuge pierce the veil.

[For *maya*, delusive mystery, see 'My Submission' p. 39. The world in which we should see His reflection, which does not exist but for Him, deludes us into thinking that that is all. "Some think," says Browning, "Creation's meant to show Him forth. I say it is meant to hide Him all it can." When we pierce the veil, the world does not disappear, but it ceases to hide the Real and reveals It instead. Deluded man thinks there is no sun because he is hidden by the clouds, forgetting that but for the sun he would not behold the clouds themselves. Goethe described *maya* in exactly the language of the Gita when he makes Faust declare:

"Mysterious even in open day

Nature retains her veil, despite our clamours;

That which she doth not willingly display

Cannot be wrenched from her with levers,

screws and hammers."

But the Gita reveals the master-key in the same *shloka*.]

न मां दुष्कृतिनो मूढाः प्रपद्यन्ते नराधमाः ।

माययापहतज्ञाना आसुरं भावमाश्रिताः ॥ १५ ॥

15. The deluded evil-doers, lowest of men, do not seek refuge in Me; for, by reason of this

delusive mystery, they are bereft of knowledge and given to devilish ways.

चतुर्विधा भजंते मां जनाः सुकृतिनोऽर्जुन ।

आर्तो जिज्ञासुरर्थार्थी ज्ञानी च भरतर्षभ ॥ १६ ॥

16. Four types of well-doers are devoted to Me, O Arjuna; they are, O Bharatarshabha, the afflicted, the spiritual seeker, the material seeker, and the enlightened.

तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकभक्तिर्विशिष्यते ।

प्रियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थम् अहं स च मम प्रियः ॥ १७ ॥

17. Of these the enlightened, ever attached to Me in single-minded devotion, is the best; for to the enlightened I am exceedingly dear and he is dear to Me.

उदाराः सर्व एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ।

आस्थितः स हि युक्तात्मा मामेवानुत्तमां गतिम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. All these are estimable indeed, but the enlightened I hold to be My very self; for he, the true *yogi*, is stayed on Me alone, the supreme goal.

बहूनां जन्मनामंते ज्ञानवान् मां प्रपद्यते ।

वासुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥ १९ ॥

19. At the end of many births the enlightened man finds refuge in Me; rare indeed is this great soul to whom 'Vasudeva is all.'

कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यंतेऽन्यदेवताः ।

तं तं नियमास्थाय प्रकृत्या नियताः स्वया ॥ २० ॥

20. Men, bereft of knowledge by reason of various longings, seek refuge in other gods,

pinning their faith on diverse rites, guided by their own nature.

यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति ।
तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम् ॥ २१ ॥

21. Whatever form one desires to worship in faith and devotion, in that very form I make that faith of his secure.

[Cf. Koran: "Whoso desireth the reward of the world, We bestow on him thereof; and whoso desireth the reward of the hereafter We bestow on him thereof."]

स तया श्रद्धया युक्तस् तस्याराधनमीहते ।
लभते च ततः कामान् मयैव विहितान् हि तान् ॥ २२ ॥

22. Possessed of that faith he seeks to propitiate that one, and obtains therethrough his longings, dispensed in truth by none but Me.

अंतवत् तु फलं तेषां तद् भवत्यल्पमेधसाम् ।
देवान् देवयजो यांति मद्भक्ता यांति मामपि ॥ २३ ॥

23. But limited is the fruit that falls to those shortsighted ones; those who worship the gods go to the gods, those who worship Me come unto Me.

[As Ramanujacharya explains: From *Brahma* to the smallest atom, all things that go by the name of the world are perishable and thus broken reeds to rely upon, the sole refuge on whom reliance must be placed is He. Cf. *Shatapatha Brahmana*: "He who worships these finite ones wins to the finite world; and he who worships those infinite to the infinite world." Also 2. Co. 9. 6: "He who soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he who soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully."]

अव्यक्तं व्यक्तिमापन्नं मन्यन्ते मामबुद्धयः ।
परं भावमजानन्तो ममाब्जयमनुत्तमम् ॥ २४ ॥

24. Not knowing My transcendent, imperishable, supreme character, the undiscerning think Me who am unmanifest to have become manifest.

[There is a wide difference among commentators regarding the translation of this *shloka*. This is Shankaracharya's explanation: 'Not knowing my higher nature as the Supreme Self, the ignorant think that I have just now come into manifestation having been unmanifested hitherto, though I am the ever luminous Lord.' Hill thinks the reference here is solely to *prakriti* and quotes Barnett whom he follows: "Some misguided men regard the Supreme who is the substrata of the universe as essentially material, existing either in a potentially determinable *avyakta* or actually determinate *vyakta* condition; but in truth He is fundamentally absolute and immaterial."

Gandhiji's translation agrees with Tilak's and Dr. Radhakrishnan's (Ind. Phil. Vol. I, p. 543), and I think there is much to say in favour of it. The reference is not to *prakriti* but to the unmanifest aspect of God, as the discourses VI, VII, VIII deal generally with the worship of God in His unmanifest aspect (see VIII. 20-21). The *shloka* has reference to the misguided ones who worship many gods believing them to be so many gods. The *shloka* must be read with IX. 10. It is the same monotheism that speaks out there. Discourses IX-XII deal generally with the worship of God in His manifest aspect. But whether manifest or unmanifest, He is the One Imperishable Supreme Being — transcendent *Brahman* as the Unmanifest or Impersonal; and the Lord, Sustainer, and Ruler, Father, Mother and Creator (IX. 17) as the Manifest or Personal. But there are no other gods to share the worship of the One God. Those who believe in a plurality of gods are mistaken and deluded. These have been already referred to in the preceding *shlokas*. Whilst a religion like Islam would call these not only deluded but would condemn them as unbelievers, the Gita has place for them too, only "their fruit is limited" (see preceding *shloka*), as their worship and their object is limited.]

नाहं प्रकाशः सर्वस्य योगमायासमावृतः ।

मूढोऽयं नाभिजानाति लोको मामजमव्ययम् ॥ २५ ॥

25. Veiled by the delusive mystery created by My unique power, I am not manifest to all; this bewildered world does not recognize Me, birthless and changeless.

Having the power to create this world of sense and yet unaffected by it, He is described as having unique power.

[*Yogamaya*—the delusive mystery created by My unique power is the same as the *maya* in VII. 14. There it was described as the creation of His divine nature, here as the creation of His unique power.]

वेदाहं समतीतानि वर्तमानानि चार्जुन ।

भविष्याणि च भूतानि मां तु वेद न कश्चन ॥ २६ ॥

26. I know, O Arjuna, all creatures past, present and to be; but no one knows Me.

[Cf. *Shve. Up.*: "He knows whatever there is to be known; Him there is no one who knows."*]

इच्छाद्वेषसमुत्थेन द्वंद्वमोहेन भारत ।

सर्वभूतानि संमोहं सर्गे यांति परंतप ॥ २७ ॥

27. All creatures in this universe are bewildered, O Parantapa, by virtue of the delusion of the pairs of opposites sprung from likes and dislikes, O Bharata.

[*Sarge* सर्गे may mean either 'at birth', or 'in this universe'. Shankaracharya translates, 'at birth'. He has a very helpful comment which I condense: "The affections of likes and dislikes cause delusion in all beings; to one such deluded the truth even of things mundane is impossible, much more so the truth about *Atman*. All creatures are born subject to this delusion, which turns

* स वेत्ति वेद्यं न च तस्यास्ति वेत्ता । श्वेत० ३. १९

their hearts away from Me, the *Atman*, to things of the world. But the virtuous conquer the delusion."]

येषां त्वंतगतं पापं जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।

ते द्वंद्वमोहनिर्मुक्ता भजन्ते मां दृढव्रताः ॥ २८ ॥

28. But those virtuous men whose sin has come to an end, freed from the delusion of the pairs of opposites, worship Me in steadfast faith.

जरामरणमोक्षाय मामाश्रित्य यतन्ति ये ।

ते ब्रह्म तद् विदुः कृत्स्नम् अध्यात्मं कर्म चाखिलम् ॥ २९ ॥

29. Those who endeavour for freedom from age and death by taking refuge in Me, know in full that *Brahman*, *Adhyatma* and all *Karma*.

साधिभृताधिदैवं मां साधियज्ञं च ये विदुः ।

प्रयाणकालेऽपि च मां ते विदुर्युक्तचेतसः ॥३०॥

30. Those who know Me, including *Adhibhuta*, *Adhidiva*, *Adhiyajna*, possessed of even-mindedness, they know Me even at the time of passing away.

The terms in italics are defined in the next discourse the subject of which is indicated in 29-30. The sense is that every nook and cranny of the universe is filled with *Brahman*, that He is the sole Agent of all action, and that the man who imbued with this knowledge and faith completely surrenders himself to Him, becomes one with Him at the time of passing hence. All his desires are extinguished in his vision of Him and he wins his freedom.

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे

ज्ञानविज्ञानयोगो नाम सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥ ७ ॥

Thus ends the seventh discourse, entitled '*Jnanavijnana Yoga*' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga* as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE VIII

The nature of the Supreme is further expounded in this discourse.

अर्जुन उवाच ।

किं तद् ब्रह्म किमध्यात्मं किं कर्म पुरुषोत्तम ।
अधिभूतं च किं प्रोक्तम् अधिदैवं किमुच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Arjuna said :

1. What is that *Brahman*? What is *Adhyatma*? What *Karma*, O Purushottama? What is called *Adhibhuta*? And what *Adhidaiva*?

अधियज्ञः कथं कोऽत्र देहेऽस्मिन् मधुसूदन ।
प्रयाणकाले च कथं ज्ञेयोऽसि नियतात्मभिः ॥ २ ॥

2. And who here in this body is *Adhiyajna* and how? And how at the time of death art Thou to be known by the self-controlled?

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमं स्वभावोऽध्यात्ममुच्यते ।
भूतभावोद्भवकरो विसर्गः कर्मसंज्ञितः ॥ ३ ॥

The Lord said :

3. The Supreme, the Imperishable is *Brahman*; its manifestation is *Adhyatma*; the creative process whereby all beings are created is called *Karma*.

अधिभूतं क्षरो भावः पुरुषश्चाधिदैवतम् ।
अधियज्ञोऽहमेवान्न देहे देहभृतां वर ॥ ४ ॥

4. *Adhibhuta* is My perishable form; *Adhidaivata* is the individual self in that form; and O best among the embodied, *Adhiyajna* am I in this body, purified by sacrifice.

That is, from the Imperishable Unmanifest down to the perishable atom everything in the universe is the Supreme and an expression of the Supreme. Why then should mortal man arrogate to himself authorship of anything rather than do His bidding and dedicate all action to Him?

[1-4. Gandhiji has summed up in his brief note the gist of this quatrain for those who will not bother about technical terms. A deeply spiritual friend has obliged me with an interpretation which lights up the apparent abracadabras with a deal of meaning: The *shlokas* describe the whole process in which the Absolute becomes conditioned and from the conditioned state becomes Absolute again. (1) We have first the Impersonal, Unmanifest, Unconditioned, Absolute; (2) it chose to reveal one of its aspects — that aspect was primordial unmanifest *prakriti* — here called *Adhyatma*; (3) *prakriti* next became active — this disturbance in the equilibrium of its *gunas* was *karma* — work, action; (4) the next step in the process were the countless manifestations of matter, with name and form — that is *Adhibhuta*; (5) then the Absolute informed these with its Ego, i. e. became conditioned; that is *Adhidaiva*; (6) but the conditioned had the potentiality to recover its pristine unconditioned state by means of giving of itself a pure sacrifice. The culmination of this self-sacrifice comes with the dissolution of the body and the merging or identification of the conditioned in the Unconditioned.

In short, it is the cycle of sacrifice that is described. The Supreme Being sacrifices Himself in the first instance and ultimately the individual sacrifices himself to be merged in the original Essence. Cf. III.15 which describes the same cycle of sacrifice.]

अंतकाले च मामेव स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।

यः प्रयाति स रुद्धावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ५ ॥

5. And he who, at the last hour remembering Me only, departs leaving the body, enters into Me; of that there is no doubt.

यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यंते कलेवरम् ।

तं तमेवैति कौंतेय सदा तद्भावभावितः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Or whatever form a man continually contemplates, that same he remembers in the hour of death, and to that very form he goes, O Kaunteya.

तस्मात् सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर युध्य च ।

मय्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिर् मामेवैव्यस्यसंशयम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. Therefore at all times remember Me and fight on; thy mind and reason thus on Me fixed thou shalt surely come to Me.

[This *shloka* should make it abundantly clear that all through in His exhortation to Arjuna to fight, it was not only the actual warfare in front of them that was meant, but the fight — moral and spiritual — that is man's lot on earth. Cf. Jesus's words: "Whosoever would come after me, let him renounce himself and *take up his cross daily* and follow me." It is the taking up one's cross daily, at every moment, that is meant here. see also *Shl.* 14. "Life is a perpetual striving. There is always a tempest raging in us, and struggle against temptation is a perpetual duty. The Gita says this in several places." (Gandhiji in *Harijan* 8-7-'33)]

अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन चेतसा नान्यगामिना ।

परमं पुरुषं दिव्यं याति पार्थानुचितयन् ॥ ८ ॥

8. With thought steadied by constant practice, and wandering nowhere, he who meditates

on the Supreme Celestial Being, O Partha, goes to Him.

कविं पुराणम् अनुशासितारम्
अणोरणीयांसमनुस्मरेद् यः ।
सर्वस्य धातारमचित्यरूपम्
आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ॥ ९ ॥

प्रयागकाले मनसाऽचलेन
भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव ।
भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक्
स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥ १० ॥

9-10. Whoso, at the time of death, with unwavering mind, with devotion, and fixing the breath rightly between the brows by the power of *yoga*, meditates on the Sage, the Ancient, the Ruler, subtler than the subtlest, the Supporter of all, the Inconceivable, glorious as the sun beyond the darkness,—he goes to that Supreme Celestial Being.

यदक्षरं वेदविदो वदन्ति
विशन्ति यद् यतयो वीतरागाः ।
यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति
तत् ते पदं संग्रहेण प्रवक्ष्ये ॥ ११ ॥

11. That which the knowers of the Vedas call the Imperishable (*or* that word which the knowers of the Vedas repeat), wherein the ascetics freed from passion enter and desiring which they practise *brahmacharya*, that Goal (*or* Word) I will declare to thee in brief.

सर्वद्वाराणि संयम्य मनो हृदि निरुध्य च ।
मूर्ध्न्याधायात्मनः प्रागम् आस्थितो योगधारणाम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. Closing all the gates, locking up the mind in the *hridaya*, fixing his breath within the head, rapt in *yogic* meditation;

[12. It is to be noticed that the Gita both in the sixth discourse and here omits the highly technical side of *yogic* practices and presents them as simply as possible. This *shloka* has just a passing reference to a process which is described by Dr. Radhakrishnan who quotes from *Brahma Sutra* thus : "The nerve *susumna* passes up to the cranium. At the approach of death, the knowing soul, through the grace of the Lord, breaks up the knot of the *hridaya* (a centre of the spinal cord) and enters the path of *susumna*, and passes out of the body piercing the skull." "Through this *susumna*," says *Maitri Up.*, "by joining the breath, the syllable AUM and the mind, one may go aloft."

The kernel of the whole thing is contained in *shloka* 13 which read with *shl.* 6 and *shl.* 14 means that one should so live that one's thoughts at the hour of death may be centred on nothing but God, the sacred symbol helping one to concentrate them on Him.]

ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् मामनुस्मरन् ।

यः प्रयाति त्यजन् देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ॥ १३ ॥

13. Whoso departs leaving the body uttering AUM—*Brahman* in one syllable—repeatedly thinking on Me, he reaches the highest state.

[11-13. *Shl.* 11 repeats substantially the language of *Katha Up.* 1-2-15: "The Goal (or Word) which all the Vedas repeat, which all the austerities speak of, desiring which men practise *brahmacharya*—that Goal (or Word) I declare to thee in brief—it is AUM."* The sacred syllable, corresponding to *Logos*, is described throughout the

* सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति । तेषां सि सर्वाणि च यद्ब्रुवन्ति ।

यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति । तत्ते पदं संग्रहेण ब्रवीमि ओमित्येतत् ॥

Upanishads as both the goal and the means of meditation. Indeed the two words *akshara* and *pada* convey both meanings, Imperishable and Word, and Goal and Word respectively. The *Mundaka Up.*, in a most beautiful metaphor, described the whole process of meditation as the practice of archery in which one has to direct the arrow of one's *Atman*, sharpened by devotion, from the bow of AUM, to *Brahman* which is the target. By undistracted contemplation, we are told, can the bow pierce the mark and become one with it.* The *Prashna Up.* describes meditation through repetition of the sacred syllable as a spiritual charm to cleanse oneself of sins, and *Mandukya* is solely devoted to expounding the spiritual content of the mystic Word.

The triple syllable is thus invariably the means of meditation as well as the goal, and has since been interpreted to stand for all kinds of trinities. It is enough for our present purpose to note that following closely, as the reference does, the description of the different processes of the evolution and involution of *Brahman*, the syllable may be understood to stand for *prakriti*, the individual self and the Supreme. 'AUM' is *Brahman*, 'AUM' is this all, says the *Taittiriya Up.*× It is with this knowledge that one must use the sacred symbol for meditation, and supreme is the good fortune of him who can, at the time of death, put himself in tune with the Infinite through repeating this sacred syllable.

Cf. 'Imitation of Christ' which paraphrasing the Biblical text says: "For the one Word are all things, and all things speak this one; and this is the Beginning which also speaketh to us."]

अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः ।

तस्याहं सुलभः पार्थ नित्ययुक्तस्य योगिनः ॥ १४ ॥

* प्रणवो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा । ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ॥

अप्रमत्तेन वेदव्यं । शरवत्तन्मयो भवेत् ॥ मुंडक० २-२-४

× ॐ इति ब्रह्म । ॐ इतिदं सर्वम् । तैत्तिरीय० १. ८. १

परस्तस्मात् तु भावोऽन्योऽव्यक्तोऽव्यक्तात् सनातनः ।
यः स सर्वेषु भूतेषु नश्यत्सु न विनश्यति ॥ २० ॥

20. But higher than that Unmanifest is another Unmanifest Being, everlasting, which perisheth not when all creatures perish.

अव्यक्तोऽक्षर इत्युक्तस् तमाहुः परमां गतिम् ।
यं प्राप्य न निवर्तते तद् धाम परमं मम ॥ २१ ॥

21. This Unmanifest, named the Imperishable, is declared to be the highest goal. For those who reach it there is no return. That is My highest abode.

पुरुषः स परः पार्थ भक्त्या लभ्यस्त्वनन्यथा ।
यस्यांतःस्थानि भूतानि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥ २२ ॥

22. This Supreme Being, O Partha, may be won by undivided devotion; in It all being dwell, by It all is pervaded.

[22. 'Pervaded' for *tatam* (ततम्), see note on II. 17]

यत्र काले त्वनावृत्तिम् आवृत्तिं चैव योगिनः ।
प्रयाता यांति तं कालं वक्ष्यामि भरतर्षभ ॥ २३ ॥

23. Now I will tell thee, Bharatarshabha, the conditions which determine the exemption from return, as also the return, of *yogins* after they pass away hence.

अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा उत्तरायणम् ।
तत्र प्रयाता गच्छन्ति ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो जनाः ॥ २४ ॥
धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चांद्रमसं ज्योतिर् योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥ २५ ॥

24. Fire, Light, Day, the Bright Fortnight, the six months of the Northern Solstice — throu,

These departing men knowing *Brahman* go to *Brahman*.

25. Smoke, Night, the Dark Fortnight, the six months of the Southern Solstice — therethrough the *yogin* attains to the lunar light and thence returns.

I do not understand the meaning of these two *shlokas*. They do not seem to me to be consistent with the teaching of the Gita. The Gita teaches that he whose heart is meek with devotion, who is devoted to unattached action and has seen the Truth must win salvation, no matter when he dies. These *shlokas* seem to run counter to this. They may perhaps be stretched to mean broadly that a man of sacrifice, a man of light, a man who has known *Brahman* finds release from birth if he retains that enlightenment at the time of death, and that on the contrary the man who has none of these attributes goes to the world of the moon—not at all lasting—and returns to birth. The moon, after all, shines with borrowed light!

[24-25. There is a wide difference of opinion regarding even the verbal interpretation of these *shlokas*, much more so regarding their significance. Thus, according to some, the word *kala* in *shl.* 12 means not 'time', but 'path' by which a departed soul proceeds after death, and words *gati* (गती) and *sriti* (सृती) (both meaning 'paths') used by the author with reference to the same context in *shls.* 26 and 27 would seem to support the contention. On the other hand, the story of Bhishma who waited for fifty-eight days so that he might pass away when the sun entered the northern course — that being a propitious time, would go to support the view that the *shlokas* have reference to 'time'. I have used the word 'conditions' to include both the meanings.

That the verses repeat the old belief handed down from the Rig Veda and the *Upanishads* (which describe the paths in much elaborate detail, e. g. *Chh. Up.* 5. 10. 1-6) is certain. Shankaracharya says that fire, light, smoke etc, may be so called deities presiding over the various portions of time referred to. The paths — *Devayana* (called *uttarayana* in *shl.* 24) and *Pitriyana* (called *dakshinayana* in *shl.* 25) are referred to in *Brahma Sutra* also. There, in the words of Tilak, "the author, anxious to reconcile all the passages with the practical difficulty sure to be experienced if death during the night of the gods were held to be absolutely unmeritorious from a religious point of view, has recorded his opinion that we must not interpret these texts as predicating an uncomfortable future life for every man dying during the *dakshinayana* or the night of the gods. As an alternative view, Badarayana, therefore, adds that these passages may be taken to refer to the *yogins* who desire to attain a particular kind of heaven after death. Whatever we may think of this view, we can, in this attempt of Badarayana, clearly see a distinct consciousness of the existence of a tradition, which, if it did not put an absolute ban on death during the night of the gods, did, at any rate, clearly disapprove of such occurrences from a religious point of view. If the *pitriyana* originally represented, as stated above, a period of continuous darkness, the tradition can be easily and rationally explained; for the *pitriyana* then meant an uninterrupted night, and the funeral ceremonies of any one dying during the period were deferred till the break of the dawn at the end of *pitriyana* or the commencement of *devayana*. Even a death during night is considered inauspicious, and the funeral generally takes place after daybreak." (*Arctic Home in the Vedas* p. 76-77).

The *shlokas* in their origin are thus of great antiquarian interest and Tilak has used them to good effect in support of his theory of the original home of the Aryans in the Arctic regions — the regions of six months' day and six months' night. The author of the *Gita*, however

in describing them briefly as the "bright" path and the "dark" path, struck a new departure and tried to clothe an ancient tradition with moral import, the bright path meaning that of knowledge and the dark one meaning that of ignorance. Indeed, Gandhiji's note suggesting the moral interpretation has considerable support from two *Upanishad* texts which refer to these two paths. Thus *Prashna Up.* 1. 9-10 : "Those who worship with the thought that they have indeed performed sacrifices and righteous deeds, they go to the lunar world. This is *pitriyana*. But they who seek *Atman* by austerity, *brahmacharya*, faith, and spiritual study, they by the northern course win the sun."* See also *Mund. Up.* 1. 2. 11: "Those who practise austerity and faith in the forest, depart passionless through the path of the sun to where there is that Imperishable Being."+ This evidently was a later development of the eschatological view and the Gita in re-naming the paths would seem to have adopted this later moral interpretation. See *shl.* 27 where Arjuna is exhorted to be a true *yogin*.]

शुक्लकृष्णे गती ह्येते जगतः शाश्वते मते ।

एकया यात्यनावृत्तिम् अन्ययाऽऽवर्तते पुनः ॥ २६ ॥

26. These two paths — bright and dark — are deemed to be the eternal paths of the world; by the one a man goes to return not, by the other he returns again.

The bright one may be taken to mean the path of knowledge and the dark one that of ignorance.

* तद्ये ह वै तदिष्टापूर्ते कृतमित्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते
मथोत्तरेण तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण श्रद्धया विद्ययात्मानमन्विष्यादित्यमभिजयन्ते

+ तपः श्रद्धे ये ह्युपवसन्त्यरण्ये ।

सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयान्ति ।

यन्नामृतः स पुरुषो ह्यव्ययात्मा ॥ मुण्डक. १-२-११

नैते सृती पार्थ जानन् योगी मुह्यति कश्चन
तस्मात् सर्वेषु कालेषु योगयुक्तो भवार्जुन ॥ २७ ॥

27. The *yogin* knowing these two paths falls not into delusion, O Partha; therefore, at all times, O Arjuna, remain steadfast in *yoga*.

“Will not fall into delusion” means that he who knows the two paths and has known the secret of even-mindedness will not take the path of ignorance.

वेदेषु यज्ञेषु तपःसु चैव
दानेषु यत् पुण्यफलं प्रदिष्टम् ।
अत्येति तत् सर्वमिदं विदित्वा
योगी परं स्थानमुपैति चाद्यम् ॥ २८ ॥

28. Whatever fruit of good deeds is laid down as accruing from (a study of) the Vedas, from sacrifices, austerities, and acts of charity — all that the *yogin* transcends, on knowing this, and reaches the Supreme and Primal Abode.

He who has achieved even-mindedness by dint of devotion, knowledge and service not only obtains the fruit of all his good actions, but also wins salvation.

[‘On knowing this’ means, as Shankaracharya explains, ‘on rightly understanding and practising the teaching imparted by the Lord in reply to the seven questions asked by Arjuna in the beginning of the discourse.’]

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
ब्रह्मयोगो नाम अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ ८ ॥

Thus ends the eighth discourse entitled *Brahma Yoga* in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga*, as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE IX

This discourse reveals the glory of devotion.

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

इदं तु ते गुह्यतमं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनसूयवे ।

ज्ञानं विज्ञानसहितं यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात् ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said :

1. I will now declare to thee, who art un censorious, this mysterious knowledge, together with discriminative knowledge, knowing which thou shalt be released from ill.

[Cf. What Christ said to his disciples : "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God." Luke, 8. 10.]

राजविद्या राजगुह्यं पवित्रमिदमुत्तमम् ।

प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं सुसुखं कर्तुमव्ययम् ॥ २ ॥

2. This is the king of sciences, the king of mysteries, pure and sovereign, capable of direct comprehension, the essence of *dharma*, easy to practise, changeless.

अश्रद्धधानाः पुरुषा धर्मस्यास्य परंतप ।

अप्राप्य मां निवर्तन्ते मृत्युसंसारवर्त्मनि ॥ ३ ॥

3. Men who have no faith in this doctrine, O Parantapa, far from coming to Me, return repeatedly to the path of this world of death.

मया ततमिदं सर्वं जगदव्यक्तमूर्तिना ।

मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः ॥ ४ ॥

न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ।

भूतभृन् न च भूतस्थो ममात्मा भूतभावनः ॥ ५ ॥

4. By Me, unmanifest in form, this whole world is pervaded; all beings are in Me, I am not in them.

5. And yet those beings are not in Me. That indeed is My unique power as Lord! Sustainer of all beings, I am not in them; My Self brings them into existence.

The sovereign power of God lies in this mystery, this miracle, that all beings are in Him and yet not in Him, He is in them and yet not in them. This is the description of God in the language of mortal man. Indeed He soothes man by revealing to him all His aspects by using all kinds of paradoxes. All beings are in Him inasmuch as all creation is His; but as He transcends it all, as He really is not the author of it all, it may be said with equal truth that the beings are not in Him. He really is in all His true devotees, He is *not*, according to them, in those who deny Him. What is this if not a mystery, a miracle of God?

[4-5. The worship of God in His personal aspect is presented in this and the three succeeding discourses. But the paradoxes in these two *shlokas* may be explained as applicable to both the personal and the impersonal aspects of the Lord. The Invisible and the Infinite rises above and beyond the visible. Being its expression, it is in the Invisible; but the Invisible is not in it, It transcends it. The universe as the creation of the creator reflects Him, but cannot contain Him, as the creator is greater than the creation. Again, as everything is strung on Him as gems on a thread, He, the thread, runs through them all and sustains them; they are not in Him as they do not sustain Him. When the Lord says, 'I am not in them', perhaps it is the isolated *Atman*, unaffected by the physical frame encasing it that is referred to. Morally, of course, as Gandhiji explains in his note, He is in the hearts of all his worship-

pers but not, so it seems to them, in those of scoffers. As the *Atmabodha* says: "Though *Atman* is at all times and in all things it does not shine in all things. It shines only in a clear understanding as the reflection in polished surfaces." Or as the Koran says: "My earth and My heaven contain Me not, but the heart of My faithful servant containeth Me." Cf. also St. Augustine: "Thou wholly everywhere, while nothing contains Thee wholly."]

यथाऽकाशस्थितो नित्यं वायुः सर्वत्रगो महान् ।

तथा सर्वाणि भूतानि मत्स्थानीत्युपधारय ॥ ६ ॥

6. As the mighty wind, moving everywhere, is ever contained in ether, even so know that all beings are contained in Me.

[Ether is the subtlest of all the five elements, the next less subtle being air or wind. If there was no motion in the atmosphere, there would seem to be no distinction between ether and air. The moving air—the mighty wind moving everywhere—is ever contained in the all-pervading ether without in any way affecting it. There is no contact between the two and no amount of commotion in the atmosphere affects the ether. Even so all beings are contained in Him without affecting Him in any way.]

सर्वभूतानि कौंतेय प्रकृतिं यांति मामिकाम् ।

कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. All beings, O Kaunteya, merge into my *prakriti*, at the end of a *kalpa*, and I send them forth again when a *kalpa* begins.

[For *kalpa*, see my note on VIII. 17-18.]

प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः ।

भूतग्राममिमं कृत्स्नम् अवशं प्रकृतेर्वशात् ॥ ८ ॥

8. Resorting to my *prakriti*, I send forth again and again this multitude of beings, powerless under the sway of *prakriti*.

न च मां तानि कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनञ्जय ।
उदासीनवदासीनम् असक्तं तेषु कर्मसु ॥ ९ ॥

9. But all this activity, O Dhanaanjaya, does not bind Me, seated as one indifferent, unattached to it.

मयाऽध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम् ।
हेतुनाऽनेन कौंतेय जगद् विपरिवर्तते ॥ १० ॥

10. With Me as Presiding Witness, *prakṛiti* gives birth to all that moves and does not move; and because of this, O Kaunteya, the wheel of the world keeps going.

[Shankaracharya : "Because I am the Witness, because I preside, this universe moves on through all stages. My *maya* composed of the three *gunas* produces the universe comprising the moving and the unmoving."]

अवजानन्ति मां मूढा मानुषीं तनुमाश्रितम् ।
परं भावमजानन्तो मम भूतमहेश्वरम् ॥ ११ ॥

11. Not knowing My transcendent nature as the sovereign Lord of all beings, fools contemn Me incarnated as man.

For they deny the existence of God and do not recognize the Director in the human body.

[See my note on VII. 24.]

मोघाशा मोघकर्माणो मोघज्ञाना विचेतसः ।
राक्षसीमासुरीं चैव प्रकृतिं मोहिनीं श्रिताः ॥ १२ ॥

12. Vain are the hopes, actions and knowledge of those witless ones who have resorted to the delusive nature of monsters and devils.

महात्मानस्तु मां पार्थ दैवीं प्रकृतिमाश्रिताः ।
भजन्त्यनन्यमनसो ज्ञात्वा भूतादिमव्ययम् ॥ १३ ॥

13. But those great souls who resort to the divine nature, O Partha, know Me as the Imperishable Source of all beings and worship Me with an undivided mind.

सततं कीर्तयन्तो मां यतंतश्च दृढव्रताः ।

नमस्यंतश्च मां भक्त्या नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ॥ १४ ॥

14. Always declaring My glory striving in steadfast faith, they do Me devout homage: ever attached to Me, they worship Me.

ज्ञानयज्ञेन चाप्यन्ये यजंतो मामुपासते ।

एकत्वेन पृथक्त्वेन बहुधा विश्वतोमुखम् ॥ १५ ॥

15. Yet others, with knowledge-sacrifice, worship Me, who am to be seen everywhere, as one, as different or as many.

[I have literally translated Gandhiji's translation, but I am not sure that it is an accurate translation. Gandhiji evidently seems to follow Shankaracharya and others. I think with Hill that there is not much warrant for this translation, for there is no alternative conjunction, and it is hardly 'knowledge-sacrifice' to fix one's mind on God's manifoldness. He explains: "We have already seen (IV-10) how Krishna claims to be one with all beings, and at the same time free from contact with them. It is with this knowledge that these men worship him, both 'with the idea of his oneness' with all existences, and at the same time 'with the idea of his separateness' from them." This is how I understand the *shloka*: *shl.* 14 emphasizes the personal aspect, *shl.* 15 emphasizes the impersonal aspect. The worshippers of the Impersonal see Him either as one, that is immanent or as separate, i. e. transcendent, and these have been described in discourses VI-VIII. I would therefore translate it thus: "Yet others, with knowledge-sacrifice, variously worship Me, who am to be seen everywhere, (some) as

immanent, (some) as transcendent." But this too is just tentative explanation.]

अहं क्रतुरहं यज्ञः स्वधाऽहमहमौषधम् ।

मन्त्रोऽहमहमेवाज्यम् अहमग्निरहं हुतम् ॥ १६ ॥

16. I am the sacrificial vow; I the sacrifice; I the ancestral oblation; I the herb; I the sacred text; I the clarified butter; I the fire; I the burnt offering.

पिताऽहमस्य जगतो माता धाता पितामहः ।

वेद्यं पवित्रमोङ्कार ऋक् साम यजुरेव च ॥ १७ ॥

17. Of this universe I am Father, Mother, Creator, Grand sire; I am what is to be known, the sacred syllable AUM; the *Rig*, the *Saman* and the *Yajus*;

[For 'AUM' see my note on VIII. 13; the last three are the names of the three recognized Vedas.]

गतिर्भर्ता प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं सुहृत् ।

प्रभवः प्रलयः स्थानं निधानं बीजमव्ययम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. I am the Goal, the Sustainer, the Lord, the Witness, the Abode, the Refuge, the Friend; the Origin, the End, the Preservation, the Treasure-house, the Imperishable Seed.

[Cf. *Imitation of Christ* which reproduces the Biblical text with comment: "Follow Me: I am the Way, the Truth, the Life. Without the way there is no going, without the truth there is no knowing, and without the life there is no living."]

तपाम्यहमहं वर्षं निगृह्णाम्युत्सृजामि च ।

अमृतं चैव मृत्युश्च सदसच्चाहमर्जुन ॥ १९ ॥

19. I give heat; I hold back and pour forth rain; I am deathlessness and also death, O Arjuna, Being and not-Being as well.

[The seminal text for this paradoxical description is the famous *Nasadiya Sukta* of Rig Veda beginning, 'There were then neither *Asat* (not-Being) nor *Sat* (Being).'* Since then the *Prius* of all existence has sometimes been described as *Sat*, sometimes as *Asat*, from which *Asat* and *Sat* respectively were born, Thus in *Taitt. Up.* 2. 7 we have: "In the beginning was *Asat*; from it was born *Sat.*";§ and in *Chh. Up.* 6.2 we have: "In the beginning verily all was *Sat* without a second."‡ When the *Prius* is described as *Asat* (not-Being) it is the state before being (in the sense of coming out or becoming) that is emphasized. When it is described as *Sat* it is its aspect of reality that is emphasized, that alone being the Real, all else existing because of It. The Gita sums up both the conceptions. Again we find *Br. Up.* referring to Death as the origin of all things. Why not then Deathlessness? They are nothing but different words for not-Being and Being. In a word, God is the sum of all relatives and combines all contraries. As the *Br. Up.* says:× "*Brahman* has indeed two aspects—the concrete and the inconcrete, the mortal and the immortal, the moving and the fixed, the this and the that. . . . It is the reality of all realities for all these are realities, and It is the Supreme Reality."]

त्रैविद्या मां सोमपाः पूतपापा
यज्ञैरिष्ट्वा स्वर्गंति प्रार्थयन्ते ।
ते पुण्यमासाद्य सुरेन्द्रलोकम्
अश्नन्ति दिव्यान् दिवि देवभोगान् ॥ २० ॥

* वासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं । ऋग्वेद १०.१२९
§ असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत् । ततो वै सदजायत । तैत्तिरीय २.७
‡ सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदिकमेवाद्वितीयम् । छान्दोग्य ६.२
× ब्रह्मणो रूपे द्वे वाव - मूर्तं चैवामूर्तं च,
मर्त्यं चामूर्तं च, स्थितं च यच्च, सच्च त्यच्च ।

(बृहद् ० २. ३-१)

सत्यस्य सत्यमिति; प्राणा वै सत्यम् तेषामेष सत्यम् ॥

(बृहद् ० २. ३-६)

20. Followers of the three Vedas, who drink the *soma* juice and are purged of sin, worship Me with sacrifice and pray for going to heaven; they reach the holy world of the gods and enjoy in heaven the divine joys of the gods.

The reference is to the sacrificial ceremonies and rites in vogue in the days of the Gita. We cannot definitely say what they were like nor what the *soma* juice exactly was.

ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं

क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति ।

एवं त्रयीधर्ममनुप्रपन्ना

गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥ २१ ॥

21. They enjoy the vast world of heaven, and their merit spent, they enter the world of the mortals; thus those who, following the Vedic law, long for the fruit of their action earn but the round of birth and death.

अनन्याश्रितयंतो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।

तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम् ॥ २२ ॥

22. As for those who worship Me, thinking on Me alone and nothing else, ever attached to Me, I bear the burden of getting them what they need.

There are thus three unmistakable marks of a true *yogi* or *bhakta*—even-mindedness, skill in action, undivided devotion. These three must be completely harmonized in a *yogi*. Without devotion there is no even-mindedness, without even-mindedness no devotion, and without skill in action devotion and even-mindedness might well be a pretence.

[I have written 'getting them what they need' for 'getting them what they have not and guarding for them what they have,' which is more literal. Cf. "But seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." (Mat. 6.33.) Also *Imitation of Christ*: "He will provide for thee, and be thy faithful procurator in all things, so that thou needest not to trust in men."]

येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजंते श्रद्धयाऽन्विताः ।

तेऽपि मामेव कौंतेय यजंत्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. Even those who, devoted to other gods, worship them in full faith, even they, O Kaunteya, worship none but Me, though not according to the rule.

'Not according to the rule' means not knowing Me as the Impersonal and the Absolute.

अहं हि सर्वज्ञानां भोक्ता च प्रभुरेव च ।

न तु मामभिजानंति तत्त्वेनातश्च्यवंति ते ॥ २४ ॥

24. For I am the Acceptor and the Director of all sacrifices; but not recognizing Me as I am, they go astray.

यांति देवव्रता देवान् पितॄन् यांति पितृव्रताः ।

भूतानि यांति भूतेज्या यांति मद्याजिनोऽपि माम् ॥ २५ ॥

25. Those who worship the gods go to the gods; those who worship the manes go to the manes; those who worship the spirits go to the spirits; but those who worship Me come to Me.

[This is a psychological truth recognized by all mystics. Sufi Jalaluddin Rumi said: "A man comes to be the thing on which he is bent." Eckhart quotes the saying of St. Augustine that "Man is what he loves", and adds

this comment: "If he loves a stone, he is a stone; if he loves a man, he is a man; if he loves God—I dare not say more, for if I said that he would then be God, ye might stone me." (Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam.*)]

पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ।

तदहं भक्त्युपहतम् अश्रामि प्रयतात्मनः ॥ २६ ॥

26. Any offering of leaf, flower, fruit or water, made to Me in devotion, by an earnest soul, I lovingly accept.

That is to say, it is the Lord in every being whom we serve with devotion who accepts the service.

यत् करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।

यत् तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत् कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ॥ २७ ॥

27. Whatever thou doest, whatever thou eatest, whatever thou offerest as sacrifice or gift, whatever austerity thou dost perform, O Kaunteya, dedicate all to Me.

[Cf. 'Whatever therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God.' 1. Co. 10. 31; also Col. 3-17]

शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्षसे कर्मबन्धनैः ।

संन्यासयोगयुक्तात्मा विमुक्तो मामुपैष्यसि ॥ २८ ॥

28. So doing thou shalt be released from the bondage of action, yielding good and evil fruit; having accomplished both renunciation and performance, thou shalt be released (from birth and death) and come unto Me.

[Renunciation of fruit and performance of action, *sannyasa* and *yoga* of the fifth discourse.]

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।

ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥ २९ ॥

29. I am the same to all beings; with Me there is none disfavoured, none favoured; but those who worship Me with devotion are in Me and I in them.

[cf. John 15. 4: "Abide in Me, and I am in you."]

अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक् ।

साधुरेव स मंतव्यः सम्यग्व्यवसितो हि सः ॥ ३० ॥

30. A sinner, howsoever great, if he turns to Me with undivided devotion, must indeed be counted a saint; for he has a settled resolve.

The undivided devotion subdues both his passions and his evil deeds.

[Settled resolve "to sin no more,"]

क्षिप्रं भवति धर्मात्मा शश्वच्छांतिं निगच्छति ।

कौंतेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति ॥ ३१ ॥

31. For soon he becomes righteous and wins everlasting peace; know for a certainty, O Kaunteya, that My *bhakta* never perishes.

मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।

स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास् तेऽपि यांति परां गतिम् ॥ ३२ ॥

32. For finding refuge in Me, even those who though are born of the womb of sin, women, *vaishyas*, and *sudras* too, reach the supreme goal.

[cf. John 3. 5: "That whosoever believeth in Him should not perish."]

किं पुनर्ब्राह्मणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।

अनित्यमसुखं लोकम् इमं प्राप्य भजस्व माम् ॥ ३३ ॥

33. How much more then, the pure *brahmanas* and seer-kings who are My devotees? Do thou worship Me, therefore, since thou hast come to this fleeting and joyless world.

मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।

मामेवैष्यसि युक्तवैवम् आत्मानं सत्परायणः ॥ ३४ ॥

34. On Me fix thy mind, to Me bring thy devotion, to Me offer thy sacrifice, to Me make thy obeisance; thus having attached thyself to Me and made Me thy end and aim, to Me indeed shalt thou come.

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
राजविद्याराजगुह्ययोगो नाम नवमोऽध्यायः ॥ ९ ॥

Thus ends the nineth discourse entitled '*Rajavidya-rajaguhya Yoga*' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga*, as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE X

For the benefit of His devotees, the Lord gives in this discourse a glimpse of his divine manifestations.

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

भूय एव महाबाहो शृणु मे परमं वचः ।

यत् तेऽहं प्रीयमाणाय वक्ष्यामि हितकाम्यया ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said :

1. Yet once more, O Mahabahu, hear My supreme word, which I will utter to thee, gratified one, for thy benefit.

न मे विदुः सुरगणाः प्रभवं न महर्षयः ।

अहमादिर्हि देवानां महर्षीणां च सर्वशः ॥ २ ॥

2. Neither the gods nor the great seers know My origin; for I am, every way, the origin of them both.

[*'Pyabhava'* (origin) may also mean 'might.' cf Koran: "Those whom they cry beside Allah created naught, but are themselves created." (16. 20).]

यो मामजमनादिं च वेत्ति लोकमहेश्वरम् ।

असंमूढः स मर्त्येषु सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ ३ ॥

3. He who knows Me, the great Lord of the worlds, as birthless and without beginning, he among mortals, undeluded, is released from all sins.

बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहः क्षमा सत्यं दमः शमः ।

सुखं दुःखं भवोऽभावो भयं चाभयमेव च ॥ ४ ॥

अहिंसा समता तुष्टिस् तपो दानं यशोऽयशः ।

भवन्ति भावा भूतानां मत्त एव पृथग्विधाः ॥ ५ ॥

4. Discernment, knowledge, freedom from delusion, long suffering, truth, self-restraint, inward calm, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear and fearlessness;

5. Non-violence, even-mindedness, contentment, austerity, beneficence, good and ill fame,—all these various attributes of creatures proceed verily from Me.

महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।

मद्भावा मानसा जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥ ६ ॥

6. The seven great seers, the ancient four, and the Manus too were born of Me and of My mind, and of them were born all the creatures in the world.

[The seven sages, according to Tilak, are Marichi, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha. About who the four are, so many conjectures are made that one might almost say only the author of the Gita knew who they were! Bhide Shastri suggests they may be those mentioned in *shloka* 13. The Manus are supposed to be 14, each presiding over a *manvantara* or cosmic period, known also as *kalpa* of 4320 million years. (See VIII.17 and IX.7.)]

एतां विभूर्तिं योगं च मम यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।

सोऽविकंपेन योगेन युज्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ ७ ॥

7. He who knows in truth this My immanence and My *yoga* becomes gifted with unshakable *yoga*; of this there is no doubt.

[*Yoga*—the unique power of the Lord—contains the *yoga* of evenmindedness and selfless or detached action.

He who knows Him and abides in Him naturally walks with Him, and so is gifted with unshakable *yoga*. cf. "But as many as received Him, to them He gave power to be sons of God." John 1. 12.

Vibhuti in singular means the Lord's power and pervasiveness or immanence; when used in the plural, I have taken it to mean manifestations revealing that immanence.]

अहं सर्वस्य प्रभवो मत्तः सर्वं प्रवर्तते ।

इति मत्वा भजंते मां बुधा भावसमन्विताः ॥ ८ ॥

8. I am the source of all, all proceeds from Me; knowing this, the wise worship Me with hearts full of devotion.

मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणा बोधयंतः परस्परम् ।

कथयंतश्च मां नित्यं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥ ९ ॥

9. With Me in their thoughts, their whole soul devoted to Me, teaching one another, with Me ever on their lips, they live in contentment and joy.

["Each repetition of God's name carries you nearer and nearer to God", said Gandhiji to a friend. "This is a concrete fact, and I may tell you that I am talking here as no theorist but as one who has experienced what he says every minute of his life, so much so that it is easier for the life to stop than for this incessant process to stop. It is a definite need of the soul." (*Harijan*, May 25, 1935.)]

तेषां सततयुक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।

ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते ॥ १० ॥

10. To these, ever in tune with Me worshipping Me with affectionate devotion, I give the power of selfless action, whereby they come to Me.

[cf. Koran: "As for those who strive in us we surely guide them to our paths, and lo.! Allah is with the good." (29. 69.)]

तेषामेवानुकंपार्थम् अहमज्ञानजं तमः ।

नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ॥ ११ ॥

11. Out of very compassion for them, I who dwell in their hearts, destroy the darkness, born of ignorance, with the refulgent lamp of knowledge.

अर्जुन उवाच ।

परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् ।

पुरुषं शाश्वतं दिव्यम् आदिदेवमजं विभुम् ॥ १२ ॥

Arjuna said :

12. Lord! Thou art the supreme *Brahman*, the supreme Abode, the supreme Purifier! Everlasting Celestial Being, the Primal God; Unborn, All-pervading.

आहुस्त्वाम् ऋषयः सर्वे देवर्षिनारदस्तथा ।

असितो देवलो व्यासः स्वयं चैव ब्रवीषि मे ॥ १३ ॥

13. Thus have all the seers — the divine seer Narada, Asita, Devala, Vyasa — declared Thee; and Thou Thyself dost tell me so.

सर्वमेतद् ऋतं मन्ये यन् मां वदसि केशव ।

न हि ते भगवन् व्यक्ति विदुर्देवा न दानवाः ॥ १४ ॥

14. All that Thou tellest me is true, I know, O Keshava; verily, Lord, neither the gods nor the demons know Thy manifestation.

स्वयमेवात्मनाऽऽत्मानं वेत्थ त्वं पुरुषोत्तम ।

भूतभावन भूतेश देवदेव जगत्पते ॥ १५ ॥

15. Thyself alone Thou knowest by Thyself, O Purushottama, O Source and Lord of all beings, God of gods, O Ruler of the universe.

वक्तुमर्हस्यशेषेण दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः ।

याभिर्विभूतिभिर्लोकान् इमांस्त्वं व्याप्य तिष्ठसि ॥ १६ ॥

16. Indeed Thou oughtst to tell me of all Thy manifestations, without a remainder, whereby Thou dost pervade these worlds.

कथं विद्यामहं योगिन् त्वां सदा परिचितयन् ।

केषु केषु च भावेषु चिंत्योऽसि भगवन् मया ॥ १७ ॥

17. O *Yogin*! constantly meditating on Thee, how am I to know Thee? In what various aspects am I to think of Thee, O Lord?

[‘*Yogin*’, one possessed of the unique power. Krishna is addressed as *Yogeshvara* also in the same sense, in the next discourse.]

विस्तरेणात्मनो योगं विभूतिं च जनार्दन ।

भूयः कथय तृप्तिर्हि शृण्वतो नास्ति मेऽमृतम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. Recount to me yet again, in full detail, Thy unique power and Thy immanence, O Janardana! For my ears cannot be sated with listening to Thy life-giving words.

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः ।

प्राधान्यतः कुरुश्रेष्ठ नास्त्यंतो विस्तरस्य मे ॥ १९ ॥

The Lord said :

19. Yea, I will unfold to thee, O Kuru-shreshtha, My divine manifestations,—the chiefest only; for there is no limit to their extent.

अहमात्मा गुडाकेश सर्वभूताशयस्थितः ।

अहमादिश्च मध्यं च भूतानामंत एव च ॥ २० ॥

20. I am the *Atman*, O *Gudakesha*, seated in the heart of every being; I am the beginning, the middle and the end of all beings.

आदित्यानामहं विष्णुर् ज्योतिषां रविरंशुमान् ।

मरीचिर्महतामस्मि नक्षत्रागामहं शशी ॥ २१ ॥

21. Of the *Adityas* I am *Vishnu*; of luminaries, the radiant *Sun*; of *Maruts*, I am *Marichi*; of constellations, the *Moon*.

[*Adityas* are twelve presiding over the twelve months. *Maruts* are the wind-gods.]

वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि देवानामस्मि वासवः ।

इंद्रियाणां मनश्चास्मि भूतानामस्मि चेतना ॥ २२ ॥

22. Of the *Vedas* I am the *Sama Veda*; of the gods *Indra*; of the senses I am the mind; of beings I am the consciousness.

[The *Gita*, singing as it does the glory of devotion, gives the place of honour to *Sama Veda* which contains chants in praise of God. (Tilak)]

रुद्राणां शंकरश्चास्मि वित्तेशो यक्षरक्षसाम् ।

वसूनां पावकश्चास्मि मेरुः शिखरिगामहम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. Of *Rudras* I am *Shankara*; of *Yakshas* and *Rakshasas* *Kubera*; of *Vasus* I am the *Fire*; of mountains *Meru*.

[*Rudras* are the deities of destruction, numbering eleven. *Kubera* is the Lord of Wealth, whose treasures are supposed to be guarded by *Yakshas* and *Rakshasas*. *Vasus* are eight—personifications of objects like fire, wind, dawn. *Meru* is the fabled mountain of gems and gold round which the planets were supposed to revolve.]

पुरोधसां च मुख्यं मां विद्धि पार्थ बृहस्पतिम् ।
सेनानीनामहं स्कंदः सरसामस्मि सागरः ॥ २४ ॥

24. Of priests, O Partha, know me to be the chief Brihaspati; of army captains I am Kartikeya; and of waters the ocean.

[Brihaspati is the preceptor of the gods. Kartikeya is the Indian Mars.]

महर्षीणां भृगुरहं गिरामस्येकमक्षरम् ।
यज्ञानां जपयज्ञोऽस्मि स्थावराणां हिमालयः ॥ २५ ॥

25. Of the great seers I am Bhrigu; of words I am the one syllable 'AUM'; of sacrifices I am the *Japa* sacrifice; of things immovable, the Himalaya.

[*Japa* is repetition of God's name. In this section of the Gita dealing with devotion, the sacrifice of the repetition of God's name — briefly the sacrifice of praise — is held to be the best.]

अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षाणां देवर्षीणां च नारदः ।
गंधर्वाणां चित्ररथः सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिः ॥ २६ ॥

26. Of all trees I am Ashvattha; of the divine seers, Narada; of the heavenly choir I am Chitraratha; of the perfected I am Kapila the ascetic.

[Ashvattha is the sacred *peepul* tree. Kapila may be the supposed founder of Samkhya philosophy.]

उच्चैःश्रवसमश्वानां विद्धि माममृतोद्भवम् ।
ऐरावतं गजेंद्राणां नराणां च नराधिपम् ॥ २७ ॥

27. Of horses, know Me to be Uchchaihshravas born with *Amrita*; of mighty elephants I am Airavata; of men, the monarch.

[Uchchaih-shravas, Indra's horse, one of the fourteen objects that the ocean yielded when it was churned by the gods for *Amrita*—nectar. Airavata also was one of the fourteen objects.]

भायुधानामहं वज्रं धेनूनामस्मि कामधुक् ।

प्रजनश्चास्मि कंदर्पः सर्पाणामस्मि वासुकिः ॥ २८ ॥

28. Of weapons, I am Vajra; of cows, Kamadhenu; I am Kandarpa, the god of generation; of serpents I am Vasuki.

[Vajra is Indra's thunderbolt made of the bones of sage Dadhichi who immolated himself so that the world might be saved.

Kamadhenu, supposed to be the cow yielding all objects of desire, also one of the fourteen objects yielded by the ocean.]

अनंतश्चास्मि नागानां बरुगो यादसामहम् ।

पितृणामर्थमा चास्मि यमः संयमतामहम् ॥ २९ ॥

29. Of cobras I am Ananta; of water-dwellers I am Varuna; of the manes I am Aryaman; and of the chastisers, Yama.

[Vasuki in *shloka* 28 was used as the churning rope by the gods; Ananta is the thousand-hooded snake on which the God Vishnu is supposed to rest. Yama is not so much the God of Death, as the Ruler of the dead. Varuna who held a high place among Vedic deities came later to be the Lord of the waters.]

प्रह्लादश्चास्मि दैत्यानां कालः कलयतामहम् ।

मृगागां च मृगेन्द्रोऽहं वैनतेयश्च पक्षिणाम् ॥ ३० ॥

30. Of demons I am Prahlada; of reckoners, the Time; of beasts I am the lion; and of birds, Garuda.

[Prahlada is remembered throughout India as the ideal devotee who braved his father's wrath and went through untold trials rather than give up his devotion to God. Garuda is described as the mount of God Vishnu.]

पवनः पवतामस्मि रामः शस्त्रभृतामहम् ।

स्रषागां मकरश्चास्मि स्रोतसामस्मि जाह्नवी ॥ ३१ ॥

31. Of cleansing agents I am the Wind; of wielders of weapons, Rama; of fishes I am the crocodile; of rivers, the Ganges.

[Rama may be either Parashurama or the celebrated Rama of the Ramayana.]

सर्गागामादिरंतश्च मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ।

अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वादः प्रवदतामहम् ॥ ३२ ॥

32. Of creations I am the beginning, end and middle, O Arjuna; of sciences, the science of spiritual knowledge; of debaters, the right argument.

['The right argument' is the dialectic style of debates as distinguished from the merely disputatious styles.]

अक्षरागामकारोऽस्मि द्वंद्वः सामासिकस्य च ।

अहमेवाक्षयः कालो धाताऽहं विश्वतोमुखः ॥ ३३ ॥

33. Of letters, the letter A; of compounds I am the *dvandva*; I am the imperishable Time; I am the creator to be seen everywhere.

[*Dvandva* is a variety of Sanskrit compounds in which both the component parts are coordinated as distinguished from other compounds in which either of the two parts predominates.]

मृत्युः सर्वहरश्चाहम् उद्भवश्च भविष्यताम् ।

कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक् च नारीगां स्मृतिर्मेघा घृतिः क्षमा ॥ ३४ ॥

34. All-seizing Death am I, as also the source of things to be; in feminine virtues I am Kirti

(glory), Shri (beauty), Vak (speech), Medha (intelligence), Dhriti (constancy) and Kshama (forgiveness).

[The other half of the *shloka* may mean either 'among nouns of feminine gender—all the abstract nouns named being feminine' or 'among feminine virtues.']

बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां गायत्री छंदसामहम् ।

मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहम् ऋतूनां कुसुमाकरः ॥ ३५ ॥

35. Of *Saman* hymns I am Brihat Saman; of metres, Gayatri; of months I am Margashirsha; of seasons, the spring.

[A hymn of the Sama Veda in *brihati* metre. *Gayatri* is named not as the best Vedic metre, but as containing the quintessence of all hymns. It is the daily prayer of the twice-born. Margashirsha in those days used to be the first month of the Hindu year.]

द्यूतं छलयतामस्मि तेजस् तेजस्विनामहम् ।

जयोऽस्मि व्यवसायोऽस्मि सत्त्वं सत्त्ववतामहम् ॥ ३६ ॥

36. Of deceivers I am the dice-play; of the splendid, the splendour; I am victory, I am resolution, I am the goodness of the good.

The 'dice-play of deceivers' need not alarm one. For the good and evil nature of things is not the matter in question, it is the directing and immanent power of God that is being described. Let the deceivers also know that they are under God's rule and judgment and put away their pride and deceit.

[Bhide Shastri translates: "I am the gamble of the deceivers", i. e. I deceive the deceivers.]

वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि पांडवानां धनंजयः ।

मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः कवीनामुशना कविः ॥ ३७ ॥

37. Of Vrishnis I am Vasudeva; of Pandavas
hananjaya; of ascetics I am Vyasa; and of
ers, Ushanas.

[Among the descendents of Vrishni or Yadava, I am the
son of Vasudeva—Vasudeva being the great-great-grandson
of Yadava Vrishni. Ushanas is Shukra, the preceptor of
the demons, or perhaps a Vedic *rishi* of that name.]

दंडो दमयतास्मि नीतिस्मि जिगीषताम् ।

मौनं चैवास्मि गुह्यानां ज्ञानं ज्ञानवतामहम् ॥ ३८ ॥

38. I am the rod of those that punish; the
strategy of those seeking victory; of secret
things I am silence, and the knowledge of those
that know.

यच्चापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन ।

न तदस्ति विना यत् स्यान् मया भूतं चराचरम् ॥ ३९ ॥

39. Whatever is the seed of every being,
O Arjuna, that am I; there is nothing, whether
moving or fixed, that can be without Me.

नान्तोऽस्ति मम दिव्यानां विभूतीनां परंतप ।

एष तूद्देशतः प्रोक्तो विभूतेर्विस्तरो मया ॥ ४० ॥

40. There is no end to my divine manifesta-
tions; what extent of them I have told thee now
is only by way of illustration.

यद् यद् विभूतिमत् सर्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।

तत् तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोऽशसंभवम् ॥ ४१ ॥

41. Whatever is glorious, beautiful and
mighty know thou that all such has issued from
a fragment of My splendour.

अथवा बहुनैतेन किं ज्ञातेन तवार्जुन ।

विष्टभ्याहमिदं कृत्स्नम् एकांशेन स्थितो जगत् ॥ ४२ ॥

42. But why needest thou to learn this at great length, O Arjuna? With but a part of Myself I stand upholding this universe.

[39-42. I have given but the briefest explanations of the various mythological and other references in the foregoing, for the kernel of the whole discourse is contained in these *shlokas*. What Shankarananda, a commentator, says explaining *shloka* 41 sums up the burden of the discourse "Whatever there is animate or inanimate, possessed of richness in creative energy, power, wealth, deeds of merit, learning, austerity, in virtues like valour, austerity, fortitude, generosity; and whatever is mighty by virtue of vigour, splendour, energy, force, manliness, substance, size . . . and whatever is to be seen possessed of beauty of handsomeness or learning, intellect, wealth, fame or activity—every such thing springs from a portion or phase of My majestic power." Says Jami, the persian Sufi:

"That each one of His eternal attributes should become manifest accordingly in a diverse form
Therefore He created the verdant fields of time and space and the life-giving garden of the World,
That every branch and leaf and fruit might show forth His various perfections."

And yet all this reveals but a part. As the great Ved text of which *shloka* 42 is an echo says:

"One fourth of Him constitutes the universe below.
cf. also Bhagawata: "Lustre, Beauty, Glory, Might, Humility, Renunciation, Prosperity, Fortune, Valour, Forbearance, Wisdom—whatever possesses these is fragment of Me."]

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
विभूतियोगो नाम दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ १० ॥

Thus ends the tenth discourse, entitled, 'Vibhuti Yoga' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of Yoga as part of the knowledge of Brahman, in the Upanishad called the Bhagawadgita.

DISCOURSE XI

In this discourse the Lord reveals to Arjuna's vision what Arjuna has heard with his ears—the Universal Form of the Lord. This discourse is a favourite with the Bhaktas. Here there is no argument, there is pure poetry. Its solemn music* reverberates in one's ears and it is not possible to tire of reading it again and again.

अर्जुन उवाच ।

मदनुग्रहाय परमं गुह्यमध्यात्मसंज्ञितम् ।

यत् त्वयोक्तं वचस्तेन मोहोऽयं विगतो मम ॥ १ ॥

Arjuna said :

1. Out of Thy grace towards me, Thou hast told me the supreme mystery revealing the knowledge of the Supreme; it has banished my delusion.

भवाप्ययौ हि भूतानां श्रुतौ विस्तरदो मया ।

त्वत्तः कमलपत्राक्ष माहात्म्यपि चान्ययम् ॥ २ ॥

2. Of the origin and destruction of beings I have heard from Thee in full detail, as also of Thy imperishable majesty, O Kamala-patranksha !

[Kamala-patranksha, having eyes (dark, soft, and wide) like the lotus leaf.]

एवमेतद् यथात्थ त्वम् आत्मानं परमेश्वर ।

द्रष्टुमिच्छामि ते रूपम् ऐश्वरं पुरुषोत्तम ॥ ३ ॥

*The music, of course, of the original! In translation, 'the glory is gone'. For a very free rendering which brings out some at least of the haunting music of the original the reader must go to Sir Edwin Arnold's flowing stanzas.

3. Thou art indeed just as Thou hast described Thyself, Parameshvara! I do crave to behold, now, that form of Thine as Ishvara.

[*Parameshvara* (Supreme Lord) and *Ishvara* are the two words in common use throughout India for 'God'. *Ishvara* is defined as "capable of doing, undoing and transforming anything."]

मन्यसे यदि तच्छक्यं मया द्रुमिति प्रभो ।

योगेश्वर ततो मे त्वं दर्शयात्मानमव्ययम् ॥ ४ ॥

4. If, Lord, Thou thinkest it possible for me to bear the sight, reveal to me, O Yogeshvara, Thy imperishable form.

[*Yogeshvara*—Lord or Master of Yoga.]

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

पश्य मे पार्थ रूपाणि शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।

नानाविधानि दिव्यानि नानावर्णाकृतीनि च ॥ ५ ॥

The Lord said :

5. Behold, O Partha, my forms divine in their hundreds and thousands, infinitely diverse, infinitely various in colour and aspect.

पश्यादित्यान् वसून् रुद्रान् अश्विनौ मरुतस्तथा ।

बहून्यदृष्टपूर्वाणि पश्याश्चर्याणि भारत ॥ ६ ॥

6. Behold the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the two Ashwins, and the Maruts; behold, O Bharata, numerous marvels never revealed before.

इहैकस्थं जगत् कृत्स्नं पश्याद्य सचराचरम् ।

मम देहे गुडाकेश यच्चान्यद् द्रुमिच्छसि ॥ ७ ॥

7. Behold today, O Gudakesha, in my body, the whole universe, moving and unmoving, all in one, and whatever else thou cravest to see.

न तु मां शक्यसे द्रग्दुम् अनेनैव स्वचक्षुषा ।
दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ॥ ८ ॥

8. But thou canst not see Me with these thine own eyes. I give thee the eye divine; behold My sovereign power!

[We have a glimpse of what the eye divine can be like in *Chh. Up.* 8. 12 1-5: "This body", we are told, "is mortal. It is owned by death, though it is the ground of that deathless *Atman* . . . For one who is bodiless pleasure and pain have no effect. The wind is bodiless, even so clouds, lightning, thunder. Even as these when they arise from space reach the highest light and appear with their own form, even so that serene *Atman* when he rises up from this body reaches the highest light and appears with his own form." This divine vision is verily to be in "that serene and blessed mood" when "we are laid asleep in body and become a living soul".*]

संजय उवाच ।

एवमुक्त्वा ततो राजन् महायोगेश्वरो हरिः ।
दर्शयामास पार्थाय परमं रूपमैश्वरम् ॥ ९ ॥

Sanjaya said :

9. With these words, O King, the great Lord of Yoga, Hari, then revealed to Partha His supreme form as Ishvara.

अनेकवक्त्रनयनम् अनेकाद्भुतदर्शनम् ।
अनेकदिव्याभरणं दिव्यानेकोद्यतायुधम् ॥ १० ॥

* मधवन्मर्त्यं वा इदं शरीरमात्तं मृत्युना तदस्यामृतस्याशरीरस्यात्मनोऽविष्ठानम् ।... अशरीरं वाव सन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्मृशतः ॥ १ ॥

अशरीरो वायुरभ्रं विद्युत्स्तनयित्पुरशरीराण्येतानि तद्यथैतान्यमुष्मादाकाशात्समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरूपसंपद्य स्वेन स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥

एवमेवैष संप्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात्समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरूपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते ॥ ३ ॥
अथ यो वेदेदं मन्वानीति स आत्मा मनोऽस्य देवं चक्षुः स वा एष एतेन देवेन चक्षुषा मनसैतान् कामान् पश्यन् रमते ॥ ५ ॥

छान्दोग्य. ८. १२. १-५.

10. With many mouths and many eyes, many wondrous aspects, many divine ornaments, and many brandished weapons divine.

दिव्यमाल्यांबरधरं दिव्यगंधानुलेपनम् ।

सर्वाश्चर्यमयं देवम् अनंतं विश्वतोमुखम् ॥ ११ ॥

11. Wearing divine garlands and vestments, annointed with divine perfumes, it was the form of God, all-marvellous, infinite, seen everywhere.

दिवि सूर्यसहस्रस्य भवेद् युगपदुत्थिता ।

यदि भाः सदृशी सा स्याद् भासस्तस्य महात्मनः ॥ १२ ॥

12. Where the splendour of a thousand suns to shoot forth all at once in the sky that might perchance resemble the splendour of that Mighty One.

तत्रैकस्थं जगत् कृत्स्नं प्रविभक्तमनेकधा ।

अपश्यद् देवदेवस्य शरीरे पांडवस्तदा ॥ १३ ॥

13. Then did Pandava see the whole universe in its manifold divisions gathered as one in the body of that God of gods.

ततः स विस्मयाविष्टो हृष्टरोमा धनंजयः ।

प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं कृतांजलिरभाषत ॥ १४ ॥

14. Then Dhananjaya, wonderstruck and thrilled in every fibre of his being, bowed low his head before the Lord, addressing Him thus with folded hands.

भर्जुन उवाच ।

पश्यामि देवांस्तव देव देहे

सर्वांस्तथा भूतविशेषसंघान् ।

ब्रह्माण्मीशं कमलासनस्थम्

ऋषींश्च सर्वान् उरगांश्च दिव्यान् ॥ १५ ॥

Arjuna said :

15. Within Thy form, O Lord, I see all the gods and the diverse multitudes of beings, the Lord Brahma, on his lotus-throne and all the seers and the serpents divine.

अनेकबाहूदरवक्त्रनेत्रम्

पश्यामि त्वां सर्वतोऽनंतरूपम् ।

नान्तं न मध्यं न पुनस्तवादिं

पश्यामि विश्वेश्वर विश्वरूप ॥ १६ ॥

16. With many arms and bellies, mouths and eyes, I see Thy infinite form everywhere. Neither Thy end, nor middle, nor beginning, do I see, O Lord of the Universe, Universal-formed !

किरीटिनं गदिनं चक्रिणं च

तेजोराशिं सर्वतो दीप्तिमंतम् ।

पश्यामि त्वां दुर्निरीक्ष्यं समंताद्

दीप्तानलार्कद्युतिमग्रमेयम् ॥ १७ ॥

17. With crown and mace and disc, a mass of effulgence, gleaming everywhere I see Thee, so dazzling to the sight, bright with the splendour of the fiery sun blazing from all sides,—incomprehensible.

त्वमक्षरं परमं वेदितव्यम्

त्वमस्य विश्वस्य परं निधानम् ।

त्वमध्ययः शाश्वतधर्मगोप्ता

सनातनस्त्वं पुरुषो सतो मे ॥ १८ ॥

18. Thou art the Supreme Imperishable worthy to be known; Thou art the final resting place of this universe; Thou art the changeless guardian of the Eternal Dharma; Thou art, I believe, the Everlasting Being.

अनादिमध्यांतमनंतवीर्यम्

अनंतबाहुं शशिसूर्यनेत्रम् ।

पश्यामि त्वां दीप्तहुताशवक्त्रम्

स्वतेजसा विश्वमिदं तपंतम् ॥ १९ ॥

19. Thou hast no beginning, middle nor end; infinite is Thy might; arms innumerable; for eyes, the sun and the moon; Thy mouth a blazing fire, overpowering the universe with Thy radiance.

द्यावापृथिव्योरिदमंतरं हि

व्याप्तं त्वयैकेन दिशश्च सर्वाः ।

दृष्ट्वाऽद्भुतं रूपमुग्रं तवेदम्

लोकत्रयं प्रव्यथितं महात्मन् ॥ २० ॥

20. By Thee alone are filled the spaces between heaven and earth and all the quarters; at the sight of this Thy wondrous terrible form, the three worlds are sore oppressed, O Mahatman!

[19-20 These *shlokas* substantially repeat *Mund. Up.* 2.1.4: "Fire is His head; His eyes the moon and the sun; the region of space, His ears."*]

अमी हि त्वां सुरसंघा विशन्ति

केचिद् भीताः प्रांजलयो गृणन्ति ।

स्वस्तीत्युक्त्वा महर्षिसिद्धसंघाः

स्तुवन्ति त्वां स्तुतिभिः पुष्कलाभिः ॥ २१ ॥

21. Here, too, the multitudes of gods are seen to enter Thee; some awestruck praise Thee with folded arms; the hosts of great seers and *siddhas*, 'All Hail' on their lips, hymn Thee with songs of praise.

* अग्निमूर्धा चक्षुषी चन्द्रसूर्यौ दिशः श्रोत्रे । मुण्डक, २. १. ४

रुद्रादित्या वसवो ये च साध्या
विश्वेऽश्विनौ मरुतश्चोष्मपाश्च ।

गंधर्वयक्षासुरसिद्धसंवा

वीक्षंते त्वां विस्मिताश्चैव सर्वे ॥ २२ ॥

22. The Rudras, Adityas, Vasus, Sadhyas, all the gods, the twin Ashwins, Maruts, Manes, the hosts of Gandharvas, Yakshas. Asuras and Siddhas — all gaze on Thee in wonderment.

रूपं महत् ते बहुवक्त्रनेत्रम्

महाबाहो बहुबाहूरूपादम् ।

बहूदरं बहुदंष्ट्राकरालम्

दृष्ट्वा लोकाः प्रव्यथितास्तथाऽहम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. At the sight of Thy mighty form, O Mahabahu, many-mouthed, with eyes, arms, thighs and feet innumerable, with many vast bellies, terrible with many jaws, the worlds feel fearfully oppressed, and so do I.

नभःस्पृशं दीप्तमनेकवर्णम्

व्यात्ताननं दीप्तविशालनेत्रम् ।

दृष्ट्वा हि त्वां प्रव्यथितांतरात्मा

धृतिं न विंदामि शमं च विष्णो ॥ २४ ॥

24. For as I behold Thee touching the sky, glowing, numerous-hued with gaping mouths and wide resplendent eyes, I feel oppressed in my innermost being; no peace nor quiet I find, O Vishnu !

दंष्ट्राकरालानि च ते सुखानि

दृष्ट्वैव कालानलसंनिभानि ।

दिशो न जाने न लभे च शमं ।

प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ॥ २५ ॥

25. And as I see Thy mouths with fearful jaws, resembling the Fire of Doom, I lose all sense of direction, and find no relief. Be gracious, O Devesha, O Jagannivasa!

[*Devesha*—Lord of Gods; *Jagannivasa*—the Refuge or Abode of the Universe. For the sake of rhythm in this musical discourse, I have retained some of these forms of address in their original form. These occur again in *Shls.* 37 and 45.]

अमी च त्वां धृतराष्ट्रस्य पुत्राः
सर्वे सहैवावनिपालसंघैः ।
भीष्मो द्रोणः सूतपुत्रस्तथासौ
सहास्मदीयैरपि योधमुख्यैः ॥ २६ ॥

वक्त्राणि ते त्वरमाणा विशन्ति
दंष्ट्राकरालानि भयानकानि ।
केचिद् विलग्ना दशनांतरेषु
संदृश्यन्ते चूर्णितैरुत्तमांगैः ॥ २७ ॥

26. All the sons of Dhritarashtra, and with them the crowd of kings, Bhishma, Drona, and that Karna too, as also our chief warriors—

27. Are hastening into the fearful jaws of Thy terrible mouths. Some indeed, caught between Thy teeth, are seen their heads being crushed to atoms.

यथा नदीनां बहवोऽम्बुवेगाः
समुद्रमेवाभिसुखा द्रवन्ति ।
तथा तवामी नरलोकवीरा
विशन्ति वक्त्राण्यभिविज्वलन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

28. As rivers, in their numerous torrents, run headlong to the sea, even so the heroes of the world of men rush into Thy flaming mouths.

यथा प्रदीप्तं ज्वलनं पतंगा

विशंति नाशाय समृद्धवेगाः ।

तथैव नाशाय विशंति लोकाः

तवापि वक्त्राणि समृद्धवेगाः ॥ २९ ॥

29. As moths, fast-flying, plunge into a blazing fire, straight to their doom, even so these rush headlong into Thy mouths, to their destruction.

लेलिह्यसे असमानस्समंतात्

लोकान् समग्रान् वदनैर्ज्वलद्भिः ।

तेजोभिरापूर्य जगत् समग्रं

भासस्तवोग्राः प्रतपंति विष्णो ॥ ३० ॥

30. Devouring all these from all sides, Thou lappest them with Thy flaming tongues; Thy fierce rays blaze forth, filling the whole universe with their lustre.

आख्याहि मे को भवानुग्ररूपो

नमोऽस्तु ते देववर प्रसीद ।

विज्ञातुमिच्छामि भवंतमाद्यम्

न हि प्रजानामि तव प्रवृत्तिम् ॥ ३१ ॥

31. Tell me, Lord, who Thou art so dread of form! Hail to Thee, O Devavara! Be gracious! I desire to know Thee, Primal Lord; for I comprehend not what Thou dost.

[Devavara—same as Devesha—God of gods.]

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धो

लोकान् समाहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः ।

ऋतेऽपि त्वां न भविष्यंति सर्वे

येऽवस्थिताः प्रत्यनीकेषु योधाः ॥ ३२ ॥

The Lord said :

32. Doom am I, full-ripe, dealing death to the worlds, engaged in devouring mankind. Even without thy slaying them not one of the warriors, ranged for battle against thee, shall survive.

तस्मात् त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व

जित्वा शत्रून् भुङ्क्व राज्यं समृद्धम् ।

मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव

निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् ॥ ३३ ॥

33. Therefore, do thou arise, and win renown ! Defeat thy foes and enjoy a thriving kingdom. By Me have these already been destroyed; be thou no more than an instrument, O Savyasachin !

द्रोणं च भीष्मं च जयद्रथं च

कर्णं तथाऽन्यानापि बोधवीरान् ।

मया हतांस्त्वं जहि मा व्यथिष्ठाः

युध्यस्व जेताऽसि रणे सपत्नान् ॥ ३४ ॥

34. Drona, Bhishma, Jayadratha and Karna, as also the other warrior chiefs — already slain by Me — slay thou ! Be not dismayed ! Fight ! Victory is thine over thy foes in the field.

[These four are particularly mentioned as they were supposed to be well-nigh invulnerable, gifted as they were with unique powers and celestial weapons.]

संजय उवाच ।

एतच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं केशवस्य

कृतं तांजलिर्वेपमानः किरीटी ।

जमस्कृत्वा भुङ्क्व एवाह कृष्णम्

सगद्गदं भीतभीतः प्रणम्य ॥ ३५ ॥

Sanjaya said :

35. Hearing this word of Keshava, crown-wearer Arjuna folded his hands, and trembling made obeisance. Bowing and all hesitant, in faltering accents, he proceeded to address Krishna once more.

अर्जुन उवाच ।

स्थाने हृषीकेश तव प्रकीर्त्या
जगत् प्रहृष्यत्यनुरज्यते च ।
रक्षांसि भीतानि दिशो द्रवन्ति
सर्वे नमस्यन्ति च सिद्धसंघाः ॥ ३६ ॥

Arjuna said :

36. Right proper it is, O Hrishikesha, that Thy praise should stir the world to gladness and tender emotion; the Rakshasas in fear fly to every quarter and all the hosts of Siddhas do reverent homage.

कस्माच्च ते न नमेरन् महात्मन्
गरीयसे ब्रह्मणोऽप्यादिकर्त्रे ।
अनंत देवेश जगन्निवास
त्वमक्षरं सदसत् तत्परं च ॥ ३७ ॥

37. And why should they not bow down to Thee, O Mahatman? Thou art the First Creator, greater even than Brahma. O Ananta, O Devesha, O Jagannivasa. Thou art the Imperishable, Being, not-Being, and That which transcends even these.

त्वमादिदेवः पुरुषः पुराणम्
त्वमस्य विश्वस्य परं निधानम् ।
वेत्तासि वेद्यं च परं च धाम
त्वया ततं विश्वमनंतरूप ॥ ३८ ॥

38. Thou art the Primal God, the Ancient Being; Thou art the Final Resting Place of the Universe; thou art the Knower, the 'to-be-known' the Supreme Abode; by Thee, O myriad-forme is the Universe pervaded.

वायुर्यमोऽग्निर्वरुणः शशांकः

प्रजापतिस्त्वं प्रपितामहश्च ।

नमो नमस्तेऽस्तु सहस्रकृत्वः

पुनश्च भूयोऽपि नमो नमस्ते ॥ ३९ ॥

39. Thou art Vayu, Yama, Agni, Varuna, Shashanka, Prajapati, and Prapitamaha ! All hail to Thee, a thousand times all hail ! Again and yet again all hail to Thee !

[*Vayu* — Wind; *Yama* — the Ruler of the dead; *Agni* — fire; *Varuna* — Water-god; *Shashanka* — the moon; *Prajapati* — The first creator Brahma; *Prapitamaha* — the great grandfather, the Ancient. This is an echo of *Shve Up.* 4.2: "That surely is Fire, That is the Sun, and That verily is the Wind, and That is the Moon . . . That is Brahma. That is Prajapati" !*]

नमः पुरस्तादथपृष्ठतस्ते

नमोऽस्तु ते सर्वत एव सर्व ।

अनंतवीर्यामितविक्रमस्त्वं

सर्वं समामोषि ततोऽसि सर्वः ॥ ४० ॥

40. All hail to Thee from before and behind ! All hail to Thee from every side, O All ! Thy prowess is infinite, Thy might is measureless ! Thou holdest all; therefore Thou art all.

[39-40. Stage by stage the vision grows upon Arjuna who now sees and exclaims the fundamental Truth

* तदेवाग्निस्तदादित्यस्तद्वायुस्तदु चन्द्रमाः ।

तदेव शुक्रं तद् ब्रह्म तदापस्तत् प्रजापतिः ॥ श्वेताश्वतर. ४. २

that Vasudeva or *Atman* is all. cf. *Chh. Up: 7.25*: “*Atman* indeed is below; *Atman* is above; *Atman* is to the West, *Atman* is to the South; *Atman* is to the North. *Atman* indeed is this All.”*

With *Shl. 39* cf. *Koran*: “Unto Allah belong the East and West, and whithersoever ye turn; there is Allah’s countenance. Lo! Allah is All-embracing, All-knowing.”]

सखेति मत्वा प्रसभं यदुक्तम्

हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति ।

अज्ञानता महिमानं तवेदं

मया प्रमादात् प्रणयेन वापि ॥ ४१ ॥

41. If ever in carelessness, thinking of Thee as comrade, I addressed Thee saying, ‘O Krishna!’, ‘O Yadava!’ not knowing Thy greatness, in negligence or in affection,

यच्चावहासार्थमसत्कृतोऽसि

विहारशय्याऽसनभोजनेषु ।

एकोऽथवाऽप्यच्युत तत्समक्षम्

तत् क्षामये त्वामहमप्रमेयम् ॥ ४२ ॥

42. If ever I have been rude to Thee in jest, whilst at play, at rest-time, or at meals, whilst alone or in company, O Achyuta, forgive Thou my fault — I beg of Thee, O incomprehensible!

पिताऽसि लोकस्य चराचरस्य

त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।

न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यो

लोकत्रयेऽप्यप्रतिमग्रभावः ॥ ४३ ॥

43. Thou art Father of this world, of the moving and the un-moving; Thou art its adored,

* स एवाधस्तात् स उपरिष्ठात् स पश्चात् स पुरस्तात् स दक्षिणतः स उत्तरतः स एवेदं सर्वम् ।

that Vasudeva or *Atman* is all. cf. *Chh. Up: 7.25*: “*Atman* indeed is below; *Atman* is above; *Atman* is to the West, *Atman* is to the South; *Atman* is to the North. *Atman* indeed is this All.”*

With *Shl. 39* cf. *Koran*: “Unto Allah belong the East and West, and whithersoever ye turn; there is Allah’s countenance. Lo! Allah is All-embracing, All-knowing.”]

सखेति मत्वा प्रसभं यदुक्तम्

हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति ।

अज्ञानता महिमानं तवेदं

मया प्रमादात् प्रणयेन वापि ॥ ४१ ॥

41. If ever in carelessness, thinking of Thee as comrade, I addressed Thee saying, ‘O Krishna!’, ‘O Yadava!’ not knowing Thy greatness, in negligence or in affection,

यच्चावहासार्थमसत्कृतोऽसि

विहारशय्याऽसनभोजनेषु ।

एकोऽथवाऽप्यच्युत तत्समक्षम्

तत् क्षामये त्वामहमप्रमेयम् ॥ ४२ ॥

42. If ever I have been rude to Thee in jest, whilst at play, at rest-time, or at meals, whilst alone or in company, O Achyuta, forgive Thou my fault — I beg of Thee, O incomprehensible!

पिताऽसि लोकस्य चराचरस्य

त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।

न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यो

लोकत्रयेऽप्यप्रतिमग्रभावः ॥ ४३ ॥

43. Thou art Father of this world, of the moving and the un-moving; Thou art its adored,

* स एवाधस्तात् स उपरिष्ठात् स पश्चात् स पुरस्तात् स दक्षिणतः स उत्तरतः स एवेदं सर्वम् ।

its worthiest, Master; there is none equal Thee; how then any greater than Thee? Thy power is matchless in the three worlds.

तस्मात् प्रणम्य प्रणिधाय कायम्

प्रसादये त्वामहमीशमीड्यम् ।

पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः

प्रियः प्रियायाऽर्हसि देव सोढुम् ॥ ४४ ॥

44. Therefore I prostrate myself before Thee and beseech Thy grace, O Lord Adorable! A father with son, as comrade with comrade, shouldst Thou bear, beloved Lord, with me, Thy loved one.

अदृष्टपूर्वं हृषितोऽस्मि दृष्ट्वा

भयेन च प्रव्यथितं मनो मे ।

तदेव मे दर्शय देव रूपम्.

प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ॥ ४५ ॥

45. I am filled with joy to see what never was seen before, and yet my heart is oppressed with fear. Show me that original form of Thine, O Lord! Be gracious, Devesha, O Jagannivasa!

किरीटिनं गदिनं चक्रहस्तम्

इच्छामि त्वां द्रष्टुमहं तथैव ।

तेनैव रूपेण चतुर्भुजेन

सहस्रबाहो भव विश्वमूर्ते ॥ ४६ ॥

46. I crave to see Thee even as Thou wast, with crown, with mace, and disc in hand; wear Thou, once more, that four-armed form, O thousand-armed Vishvamurti!

['Vishvamurti'—Universe Incarnate, Universal Form.]

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

मया प्रसन्नेन तवार्जुनेर्द
 रूपं परं दर्शितमात्मयोगात् ।
 तेजोमयं विश्वमनंतमाद्यम्
 यन् मे त्वदन्येन न दृष्टपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥

The Lord said :

47. It is to favour thee, O Arjuna, that I have revealed to thee, by My own unique power, this My Form Supreme, Resplendent, Universal, Infinite, Primal — which none save thee has ever seen.

न वेदयज्ञाध्ययनैर्न दानैर्
 न च क्रियाभिर्न तपोभिरुग्रैः ।
 एवंप्रकारः शक्य अहं नृलोके
 द्रष्टुं त्वदन्येन कुरुप्रवीर ॥ ४८ ॥

48. Not by the study of the Vedas, not by sacrifice, not by the study of other scriptures, not by gifts, nor yet by performance of rites or of fierce austerities can I, in such a form, be seen by any one save thee in the world of men, O Kurupravira!

[“Not by the study of the Vedas, not by sacrifice, not by the study of other scriptures”—so Gandhiji; “not by the Vedas, not by sacrifice, not by study”—Tilak; “not by the Vedas, not by sacrifice not by scripture-reading”,—Hill; “not by the study of the Vedas or of the science of sacrifice”—all the commentators of Shankaracharya’s school.]

मा ते व्यथा मा च विमूढभावो
 दृष्ट्वा रूपं घोरमीदृङ् ममेदम् ।
 व्यपेतभीः प्रीतमनाः पुनस्त्वम्
 तदेव मे रूपमिदं प्रपश्य ॥ ४९ ॥

49. Be thou neither oppressed nor bewildered to look on this awful form of Mine. Banish thy fear, ease thy mind, and lo! behold Me once again as I was.

संजय उवाच ।

इत्यर्जुनं वासुदेवस्तथोक्त्वा

स्वकं रूपं दर्शयामास भूयः ।

आश्वासयामास च भीतमेनम्

भूत्वा पुनः सौम्यवपुर्महात्मा ॥ ५० ॥

Sanjaya said:

50. So said Vasudeva to Arjuna, and revealed to him once more His original form. Wearing again His form benign, the Mahatman consoled him terrified.

अर्जुन उवाच ॥

द्रष्टुं मानुषं रूपं तव सौम्यं जनार्दन ।

इदानीमस्मि संवृत्तः सचेताः प्रकृतिं गतः ॥ ५१ ॥

Arjuna Said :

51. Beholding again Thy benign human form I am come to myself and am once more in my normal state.

श्री भगवानुवाच ॥

सुदुर्दर्शमिदं रूपं द्रष्टवानसि यन् मम ।

देवा अप्यस्य रूपस्य नित्यं दर्शनकांक्षिणः ॥ ५२ ॥

The Lord said:

52. Very hard to behold is that form of Mine which thou hast seen; even the gods always yearn to see it.

नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।

शक्य एवंविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ॥ ५३ ॥

53. Not by the Vedas, not by penance nor gifts, nor yet by sacrifice, can any behold Me in the Form that thou hast seen.

भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ।

ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परंतप ॥ ५४ ॥

54. But by single-minded devotion, O Arjuna, may in this Form be known and seen, and truly entered into, O Parantapa!

मत्कर्मकृन् मत्परमो मद्भक्तः संगवर्जितः ।

निर्वैरः सर्वभूतेषु यः स मामेति पांडव ॥ ५५ ॥

55. He alone comes to me, O Pandava, who does My work, who has made Me his goal, who is My devotee, who has renounced attachment, who has ill will towards none.

[cf. 1. Co. 15. 58: "Be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord."]

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
विश्वरूपदर्शनयोगो नाम एकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

Thus ends the eleventh discourse, entitled 'Vishvarupadarshana Yoga' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of Yoga as part of the knowledge of Brahman in the Upanishad called the Bhagawadgita.

DISCOURSE XII

Thus we see that vision of God is possible only through single-minded devotion. Contents of devotion must follow as a matter of course. This twelfth discourse should be learnt by heart even if all the discourses are not. It is one of the shortest. The marks of a devotee should be carefully noted.

[Dis. XI-XII—“What can more forcefully turn us to God than this panoramic vision of His multitudinous manifestations, and having thus prepared us for *bhakti*, the Lord gives us the essence of *Bhakti* in the 12th discourse which is so brief that any one can commit it to memory to call it to his aid in moments of trial.” (Gandhiji. M. D.’s Weekly Letter, *Young India*, 12-1-28.)]

अर्जुन उवाच ॥

एवं सततयुक्ता ये भक्तास्त्वां पर्युपासते ।
ये चाप्यक्षरमव्यक्तं तेषां के योगवित्तमाः ॥ १ ॥

Arjuna said :

1. Of the devotees who thus worship Thee, incessantly attached, and those who worship the Imperishable Unmanifest, which are the better *yogins*?

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

मय्यावेश्य मनो ये मां नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ।
श्रद्धया परयोपेतास्ते मे युक्ततमा मताः ॥ २ ॥

The Lord said :

2. Those I regard as the best *yogins* who, riveting their minds on Me, ever attached, worship me, with the highest faith.

ये त्वक्षरमनिर्देश्यम् अव्यक्तं पर्युपासते ।

सर्वत्रगमचित्त्यं च कूटस्थमचलं ध्रुवम् ॥ ३ ॥

3. But those who worship the Imperishable, the Indefinable, the Unmanifest, the Omnipresent, the Unthinkable, the Rock-seated, the Immovable, the Unchanging,

संनियम्येन्द्रियग्रामं सर्वत्र समबुद्धयः ।

ते प्राप्नुवन्ति मामेव सर्वभूतहिते रताः ॥ ४ ॥

4. Keeping the whole host of senses in complete control, looking on all with an impartial eye, engrossed in the welfare of all beings — these come indeed to Me.

[How complete this control of the senses has to be is indicated in the sixth discourse. Not that the worshipper of the Personal God will not be self-controlled — even he who pursues the easiest path of renunciation of all fruit has to do it with self-control (see *shl.* 11) — but he has the liberty to allow his senses full play in the worship of the Lord. It is control indeed, inasmuch as the senses would be withdrawn from the things of the flesh, but it is easier than the control of the whole host of senses contemplated in the sixth discourse.]

क्लेशोऽधिकतरस्तेषाम् अव्यक्तासक्तचेतसाम् ।

अव्यक्ता हि गतिः दुःखं देहवद्भिरवाप्यते ॥ ५ ॥

5. Greater is the travail of those whose mind is fixed on the Unmanifest; for it is hard for embodied mortals to gain the Unmanifest — Goal.

Mortal man can only imagine the Unmanifest, the impersonal, and as his language fails him he often negatively describes It as '*Neti*', '*Neti*' (Not That, Not That). And so even iconoclasts are at bottom no better than idol-worshippers. To worship a book,

to go to a church, or to pray with one's face in a particular direction — all these are forms of worshipping the Formless in an image or idol. And yet both the idol-breaker and the idol-worshipper cannot lose sight of the fact that there is something which is beyond all form, Unthinkable, Formless, Impersonal, Changeless. The highest goal of the devotee is to become one with the object of his devotion. The *bhakt* extinguishes himself and merges into, becomes, *Bhagavat*. This state can best be reached by devoting oneself to some form, and so it is said that the short cut to the Unmanifest is really the longest and the most difficult.

ये तु सर्वाणि कर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्पराः ।
अनन्येनैव योगेन मां ध्यायंत उपासते ॥ ६ ॥

6. But those who casting all their actions on Me, making Me their all in all, worship Me with the meditation of undivided devotion,

तेषामहं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात् ।
भवामि न चिरात् पार्थ मय्यावेशितचेतसाम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. Of such, whose thoughts are centred on Me, O Partha, I become ere long the Deliverer from the ocean of this world of death.

[Strongly reminiscent of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: " O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? " (7. 24). " For the law of the spirit of life in Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death ". (8. 2).]

मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय ।
निवसिष्यसि मय्येव अत ऊर्ध्वं न संशयः ॥ ८ ॥

8. On Me set thy mind, on Me rest thy conviction; thus without doubt shalt thou remain only in Me hereafter;

अथ चित्तं समाधातुं न शक्नोषि मयि स्थिरम् ।
अभ्यासयोगेन ततो मामिच्छाप्तुं धनंजय ॥ ९ ॥

9. If thou canst not set thy mind steadily on Me, then by the method of constant practice seek to win Me, O Dhananjaya.

अभ्यासेऽप्यसमर्थोऽसि मत्कर्मपरमो भव ।
मदर्थमपि कर्माणि कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ॥ १० ॥

10. If thou art also unequal to this method of constant practice, concentrate on service for Me; even thus serving Me thou shalt attain perfection.

अथैतदप्यशक्तोऽसि कर्तुं मद्योगमाश्रितः ।
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान् ॥ ११ ॥

11. If thou art unable even to do this, then dedicating all to Me, with mind controlled, abandon the fruit of action.

श्रेयो हि ज्ञानमभ्यासाज् ज्ञानाद्ध्यानं विशिष्यते ।
ध्यानात् कर्मफलत्यागस् त्यागाच्छान्तिरनंतरम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. Better is knowledge than practice, better than knowledge is concentration, better than concentration is renunciation of the fruit of all action, from which directly issues peace.

‘Practice’ (*abhyasa*) is the practice of the *Yoga* of meditation and control of psychic processes; ‘knowledge’ (*jnana*) is intellectual effort; ‘concentration’ (*dhyana*) is devoted worship. If as a result of all this there is no renunciation of the fruit of action, ‘practice’ is no ‘practice’, ‘knowledge’ is no ‘knowledge’, and ‘concentration’ is no ‘concentration’.

[This *shloka* has been a perfect puzzle to translators and commentators. Some, like Hill, have made a heroic attempt to explain it, whilst others have not even faced the difficulty at all. Space forbids a discussion of the various explanations. Most of them, including Gandhiji's, fail to satisfy me. There is one (offered by Vinoba) partially supported by Bhide Shastri, which to my mind seems the best of all yet offered. I have adopted it in my 'interpretative analysis' (p. 82) and give it here in some detail.

'Renunciation of the fruit of all action' is, it must be remembered, suggested as the easiest method in *shl.* 11. *Shl.* 12 explains how it is the easiest. Constant practice of this method is the first stage; the next higher stage, and the natural result of the first is a knowledge of the secret of renunciation; the stage still higher and again the natural result of the lower is concentration, i. e. concentrated devotion to the method; which last results in perfect renunciation of the fruit of all action. This perfect renunciation means lasting peace.

Much of the difficulty is caused by the author's practice of using one and the same word in varying senses, and by the commentator's attempt to relate the 12th *shloka* to *shls.* 8-10. On the other hand, Gandhiji's explanation seems to sever it violently out of context. The natural context is the simple remedy offered in the 11th *shloka*.

The reader may consider this further explanation of this verse and the following verses given by Gandhiji in another connection:

"It seems that the path of hearing, meditating and comprehending, may be easier than the path of 'yama, niyama, pranayama and asan' to which I have referred; easier than that may be concentration and worship and again easier than concentration may be renunciation of the fruits of works. The same method cannot be equally easy for every one; some may have to turn for help to all these methods. They are certainly intermixed. In any case thou wishest to be a devotee. Achieve that goal by

whatever method thou canst. My part is simply to tell thee whom to count a true devotee." *From Yeravda Mandir.*]

अद्वेषा सर्वं भूतानां मैत्रः करुण एव च ।

निर्ममो निरहंकारः समदुःखसुखः क्षमी ॥ १३ ॥

संतुष्टः सततं योगी यतात्मा दृढनिश्चयः ।

मद्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिर् यो मद्भक्तः स मे प्रियः ॥ १४ ॥

13. Who has ill will towards none, who is friendly and compassionate, who has shed all thought of 'mine' or 'I', who regards pain and pleasure alike, who is long-suffering;

14. Who is ever content, gifted with *yoga*, self-restrained, of firm conviction, who has dedicated his mind and reason to Me — that devotee (*bhakta*) of Mine is dear to Me.

यस्मान्नोद्विजते लोको लोकान्नोद्विजते च यः ।

हर्षामर्षभयोद्वेगैर् मुक्तो यः स च मे प्रियः ॥ १५ ॥

15. Who gives no trouble to the world, to whom the world causes no trouble, who is free from exultation, resentment, fear and vexation, — that man is dear to Me.

अनपेक्षः शुचिर्दक्ष उदासीनो गतव्यथः ।

सर्वारंभपरित्यागी यो मद्भक्तः स मे प्रियः ॥ १६ ॥

16. Who expects naught, who is pure, resourceful, unconcerned, untroubled, who indulges in no undertakings, — that devotee of Mine is dear to Me.

यो न हृष्यति न द्वेष्टि न शोचति न कांक्षति ।

शुभाशुभपरित्यागी भक्तिमान् यः स मे प्रियः ॥ १७ ॥

17. Who rejoices not, neither frets nor grieves, who covets not, who abandons both good and ill — that devotee of Mine is dear to Me.

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानापमानयोः ।

शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु समः संगविवर्जितः ॥ १८ ॥

तुल्यनिंदास्तुतिमौनी संतुष्टो येनकेनचित् ।

अनिकेतः स्थिरमतिर् भक्तिमान् मे प्रियो नरः ॥ १९ ॥

18. Who is same to foe and friend, who regards alike respect and disrespect, cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachment;

19. Who weighs in equal scale blame and praise, who is silent, content with whatever his lot, who owns no home, who is of steady mind, —that devotee of Mine is dear to Me.

[13-19. This description of the essentials of an ideal *bhakta* would suggest many a parallel. I shall content myself to reproduce a fine passage from that true *bhakta* Fenelon who would call *bhakti* 'true simplicity': "True simplicity is free and direct and gives itself up, without reserve and with a generous self-forgetfulness to the Father of spirits . . . Experience alone can make us comprehend the enlargement of the heart it produces. We are then like a child in the arms of its parent; we wish nothing more, we fear nothing, we yield ourselves up to this pure attachment . . . We place all our interests, pleasure, reputation in His hands, receive all the sufferings that He may inflict in this scene of humiliation as trials and tests of our love to Him. Some people who are sincere are not at ease with others and others are not at ease with them; *but the truly simple man is at ease with others and others are at ease with him.*" The last line is so beautifully reminiscent of *shl.* 15.

[19. I have already commented on the spirit of even-mindedness, the spirit of looking on all pairs and on friend and foe with an equal eye, the "being perfect, even as thy Father in Heaven is perfect." Silence is here added as one more attribute; we find it again in XVII.16

as one of the elements of mental or spiritual austerity. It is not so much the refraining from speech as what that Russian mystical writer Arseniew calls "the inward silence of the spirit, that aloofness from the clamour of the passions, that silent rapt concentration upon God, accompanied, however, by ceaseless inward spiritual prayer which is conveyed to the mystics of the Eastern Church by the words: 'I sleep but my heart keeps vigil' ".]

ये तु धर्म्यामृतमिदं यथोक्तं पर्युपासते ।

श्रद्धावाना मत्परमा भक्तास्तेऽतीव मे प्रियाः ॥ २० ॥

20. They who follow this essence of *dharmā*, as I have told it, with faith, keeping Me as their goal,—those devotees are exceeding dear to Me.

[I have translated *dharmyamrita*, 'essence of *dharmā*'. It may be translated, '*dharmā* leading to immortality', or 'nectar in the form of this sacred doctrine' as Gandhiji has it in his translation. I think it is best to translate it as I have done, so as to relate it with IX. 2, where it is referred to as *dharmyam* and where the exposition of the subject begins ending here.

'Why are these exceeding dear to the Lord?' is a question asked and answered by an acute commentator. *Shls.* 12-19 describe the characteristics of an ideal *bhakta*—whether a worshipper of the Personal or Impersonal—, but such an ideal *bhakta*, suggests this commentator, is rare. *Shl.* 20 has reference to the aspirants striving to approach the ideal; they, he suggests, are exceeding dear to the Lord, because they deserve His special grace, the other having already won the goal—like the grandson who is held dearer than the son!]

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
भक्तियोगो नाम द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥ २२ ॥

Thus ends the twelveth discourse entitled '*Bhakti Yoga*' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga* as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE XIII

This discourse treats of the distinction between the body (not-Self) and Atman (the Self).

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

इदं शरीरं कौन्तेय क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ।

एतद् यो वेत्ति तं प्राहुः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति तद्विदः ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said :

1. This body, O Kaunteya, is called the Field; he who knows it is called the knower of the Field by those who know.

क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ।

क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्ज्ञानं यत् तज् ज्ञानं मतं मम ॥ २ ॥

2. And understand Me to be, O Bharata, the knower of the Field in all the Fields; and the knowledge of the Field and the knower of the Field, I hold, is true knowledge.

तत् क्षेत्रं यच्च यादृक् च यद् विकारि यतश्च यत्

स च यो यत्प्रभावश्च तत् समासेन मे शृणु ॥ ३ ॥

3. What that Field is, what its nature, what its modifications, and whence is what, as also who He is, and what His power — hear this briefly from Me.

ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छंदोभिर्विविधैः पृथक् ।

ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ॥ ४ ॥

4. This subject has been sung by seers distinctly and in various ways, in different hymns as

also in aphoristic texts about *Brahman* well reasoned and unequivocal.

महाभूतान्यहंकारो बुद्धिरव्यक्तमेव च ।

इन्द्रियाणि दशैकं च पंच चैन्द्रियगोचराः ॥ ५ ॥

5. The great elements, Individuation, Reason, the Unmanifest, the ten senses, and the one (Mind), and the five spheres of the senses;

[For a full treatment of the subject see 'My Submission' pp. 85. *Shl.* 5 details all the 24 principles of *prakriti* and *shl.* 6 details the modifications of the *mind* which is part of the body and not of the Self.]

इच्छा द्वेषः सुखं दुःखं संघातश्चेतना धृतिः ।

एतत् क्षेत्रं समासेन सविकारमुदाहृतम् ॥ ६ ॥

6. Desire, dislike, pleasure, pain, association, consciousness, cohesion — this, in sum, is what is called the Field with its modifications.

The great elements are Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether. 'Individuation' is the thought of I, or that the body is 'I'; the 'Unmanifest' is *prakriti* or *maya*; the ten senses are the five senses of perception—smell, taste, sight, touch and hearing, and the five organs of action, viz: the hands, the feet, the tongue, and the two organs of excretion. The five spheres or objects of the senses are smell, savour, form, touch and sound. 'Association' is the property of the different organs to cooperate. *Dhriti* is not patience or constancy but cohesion, i. e. the property of all the atoms in the body to hold together; from 'individuation' springs this cohesion. Individuation is inherent in the unmanifest *prakriti*. The undeluded man is he who can cast off this individuation or ego, and having done so the shock of an inevitable thing like death and the pairs of opposites caused by sense-contacts fail to affect him.

The Field, subject to all its modifications, has to be abandoned in the end by the enlightened and the unenlightened alike.

अमानित्वमदंभित्वम् अहिंसा क्षांतरार्जवम् ।

आचार्योपासनं शौचं स्थैर्यमात्मविनिग्रहः ॥ ७ ॥

7. Freedom from pride and pretentiousness; non-violence, forgiveness, uprightness, service of the Master, purity, steadfastness, self-restraint;

[It is noteworthy that 'freedom from pride' is the first virtue of knowledge; for pride is a sin of the temper which it is difficult to conquer even after all the sins of the flesh have been overcome. It is so subtle that one may not perceive it until the last, and it may even masquerade as humility. "Nothing is more scandalous," said Marcus Aurelius, "than a man who is proud of his humility."]

इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यम् अनहंकार एव च ।

जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिदुःखदोषानुदर्शनम् ॥ ८ ॥

8. Aversion from sense-objects, absence of conceit, realization of the painfulness and evil of birth, death, age and disease;

असक्तिरनभिष्वंगः पुत्रदारगृहादिषु ।

नित्यं च समचित्तत्वम् इष्टानिष्टोपपत्तिषु ॥ ९ ॥

9. Absence of attachment, refusal to be wrapped up in one's children, wife, home and family, even-mindedness whether good or ill befall;

['Refusal to be wrapped up in one's children, wife, home and family.' Compare this with the picturesque verse in the Bible, Luke 14. 26: "If any man come to me and hate not his father, mother, wife and children . . . he cannot be my disciple"; or the words in the Koran: "Lo! Among your wives and children there

are enemies for you, therefore beware of them;" (64.14) "They are only a temptation." But whatever the difference in expression the emphasis is on one and the same thing, viz. "exclusive devotion of the Lord." There can be no sharer in that devotion. As the Koran puts it: "Let not your wealth, nor your children distract you from remembrance of Allah" (63. 9).]

मयि चानन्ययोगेन भक्तिरन्यभिचारिणी ।

त्रिविक्तदेशसेवित्वम् अरतिर्जनसंसदि ॥ १० ॥

10. Unwavering and all-exclusive devotion to Me, resort to secluded spots, distaste for the haunts of men;

[The reason for insistence on seclusion in this *shloka* and on silence (XII. 19) in the characteristics of a true *bhakta* is beautifully expressed in 'Imitation of Christ': "No man can safely appear in public, but he who loves seclusion. No man can safely speak, but he who loves silence."]

अध्यात्मज्ञाननित्यत्वं तत्त्वज्ञानार्थदर्शनम् ।

एतज् ज्ञानमिति प्रोक्तम् अज्ञानं यदतोऽन्यथा ॥ ११ ॥

11. Settled conviction of the nature of the *Atman*, perception of the goal of the knowledge of Truth,—

All this is declared to be Knowledge and the reverse of it is ignorance.

[7-11. It is noteworthy how the End — Knowledge is shown to include the means, for without the means there is no end. The following verses in the Bible provide a remarkable parallel, if in somewhat different language :

"And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge;

"And to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness;

“ And to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity.

“ For if these things be in you, and abound they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of Lord Jesus Christ.

“ But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see far off, and has forgotten that he was purged of his old sin.” II Peter 1. 5-9.

ज्ञेयं यत् तत् प्रवक्ष्यामि यज्ज्ञात्वाऽमृतमश्नुते ।

अनादिमत् परं ब्रह्म न सत् तन्नासदुच्यते ॥ १२ ॥

12. I will (now) expound to thee that which is to be known and knowing which one enjoys immortality; it is the supreme *Brahman* which has no beginning, which is called neither Being nor non-Being.

The Supreme can be described neither as Being nor as non-Being. It is beyond definition or description, above all attributes.

[Here we find the Gita adopting the very language of the Vedic hymn referred to in the note on IX. 19. The description in IX. 19, having reference only to the Personal aspect of God, was positive. Here the absolute *Brahman* is being described also as the Impersonal, and so the author uses the familiar method of exhausting all possible attributes as inadequate. The moment we proceed to apply to *Brahman* the language of our limited experience we limit It. It is futile to imprison the Infinite in finite categories. This *shloka* is really the key to the apparent contradictions in the *shlokas* that follow.]

सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत् सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।

सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥ १३ ॥

13. Everywhere having hands and feet, everywhere having eyes, heads, mouths, everywhere

having ears, It abides embracing everything in the universe.

सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं सर्वेन्द्रियविवर्जितम् ।

असक्तं सर्वभृच्चैव निर्गुणं गुणभोक्तृ च ॥ १४ ॥

14. Seeming to possess the functions of the senses, It is devoid of all the senses; It touches naught, upholds all; having no *gunas*, It experiences the *gunas*.

बहिरंतश्च भूतानाम् अचरं चरमेव च ।

सूक्ष्मत्वात् तदविज्ञेयं दूरस्थं चांतिके च तत् ॥ १५ ॥

15. Without all beings, yet within; immovable yet moving; so subtle that It cannot be perceived; so far and yet so near It is.

He who knows It is within It, close to It; mobility and immobility, peace and restlessness, we owe to It, for It has motion and yet is motionless.

अविभक्तं च भूतेषु विभक्तमिव च स्थितम् ।

भूतभर्तृ च तज्ज्ञेयं ग्रसिष्णु प्रभविष्णु च ॥ १६ ॥

16. Undivided, It seems to subsist divided in all beings; this *Brahman* — That which is to be known is the Sustainer of all, yet It is their Devourer and Creator.

ज्योतिषामपि तज्ज्योतिस् तमसः परमुच्यते ।

ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं ज्ञानगम्यं हृदि सर्वस्य धिष्ठितम् ॥ १७ ॥

17. Light of all lights, It is said to be beyond darkness; It is knowledge, the object of knowledge, to be gained only by knowledge; It is seated in the hearts of all.

[13-17. These *shlokas* bring together compactly the descriptions of the Absolute in various Upanishads and sum up Its Personal and Impersonal aspects both. The

whole of *shl.* 16 and the first half of *shl.* 14 have been borrowed from *Shve. Up.* 3. 16.* Part of *Shl.* 15 repeats the language of *Isha. Up.* 5,+ and *Mund. Up.* 3. 1. 7* and parts of *Shls.* 16 and 17 repeat the language of *Br. Up.* 4. 4. 16+ and *Shve.* 3. 8† and *Tait.* 2. 4.‡ *Shl.* 16 with its *iva* — it seems 'to be divided into different entities' though one sums up the seemingly contradictory aspects. The *Brahman* has no functions, but It functions as it were through the functions of the senses. As *Br. Up.* says: "It meditates as It were, It moves as It were."

Compare the language of the mystics of all ages quoted by Miss Underhill: "That nameless something which is great enough to be God, small enough to be me" (Suso); "If thou conceivest a small minute circle, as small as a grain of mustard seed, yet the Heart of God is wholly and perfectly therein; and thou art born in God, then there is in thyself the whole Heart of God undivided" (Boehme); "God is nearer to me than I am to myself; He is just as near to wood and stone, but they don't

* सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत्सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।

सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥ श्वेताश्वतर ३.१६

÷ तदेजति तन्नजति तद्दूरं तद्वन्तिके ।

तदन्तरस्य सर्वस्य तदु सर्वस्यास्य बाह्यतः ॥ ईश. ५

x बृहच्च तद्विव्यमचिन्त्यरूपं ।

सूक्ष्माच्च तत्सूक्ष्मतरं विभाति ॥

दूरात्सुदूरे तदिहान्तिके च ।

पश्यत्स्विहैव निहितं गुहायाम् ॥ मुण्डक. ३.१.७

+ यस्मादर्वाक्संवत्सरोऽहोमिः परिवतते ।

तद्देवा ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरायुर्होपासतेऽमृतम् ॥ बृहदारण्य ४.४.१६

† वेदाहमेतं पुरुषं महान्तम्

आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ॥

तमेव विदित्वातिमृत्युमेति ।

नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय ॥ श्वेताश्वतर ३-८

‡ यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते ।

...

महः पुच्छं प्रतिष्ठा ॥ तैत्तिरीय २-४

ध्यायतीव लेलायतीव ।

बृह०४-३-७

know it " (Eckhart). Or in the language of the modern English hymn

Closer is He than breathing;
Nearer than hands and feet.]

इति क्षेत्रं तथा ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं चोक्तं समासतः ।

मद्भक्त एतद् विज्ञाय मद्भावायोपपद्यते ॥ १८ ॥

18. Thus have I expounded in brief the Field, Knowledge and That which is to be known; My devotee, when he knows this, is worthy to become one with Me.

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्वयनादी उभावपि ।

विकारांश्च गुणांश्चैव विद्धि प्रकृतिसंभवान् ॥ १९ ॥

19. Know that *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are both without beginning; know that all the modifications and *gunas* are born of *Prakriti*.

[For *Prakriti* and *Purusha*, see 'My submission', pp. 21-26. We have seen in the 7th discourse that these are the two aspects of the Lord, the lower and the higher, and as the Lord is beginningless, so are His aspects.]

कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वे हेतुः प्रकृतिरुच्यते ।

पुरुषः सुखदुःखानां भोक्तृत्वे हेतुरुच्यते ॥ २० ॥

20. *Prakriti* is described as the cause in the creation of effects from causes; *Purusha* is described as the cause of the experiencing of pleasure and pain.

[In the tree of *Prakriti* (p. 22), the ten organs of perception and action, mind, and the five gross elements are the effects and not the causes of others; reason, individuation and the five subtle elements which are both causes and effects are spoken of as effects. *Prakriti* generates them all.]

पुरुषः प्रकृतिस्थो हि भुङ्क्ते प्रकृतिजान् गुणान् ।
कारणं गुणसंगोऽस्य सदसद्योनिजन्मसु ॥ २१ ॥

21. For the *Purusha*, residing in *Prakriti*, experiences the *gunas* born of *Prakriti*; attachment to these *gunas* is the cause of his birth in good or evil wombs.

Prakriti in common parlance is *Maya*. *Purusha* is the *Jiva*. *Jiva* acting in accordance with his nature experiences the fruit of actions arising out of the three *gunas*.

उपद्रष्टाऽनुमंता च भर्ता भोक्ता महेश्वरः ।

परमात्मेति चाप्युक्तो देहेऽस्मिन् पुरुषः परः ॥ २२ ॥

22. What is called in this body the Witness, the Assentor, the Sustainer, the Experiencer, the Great Lord and also the Supreme *Atman*, is the Supreme Being.

[The *Jiva* or the individual Self who receives all sorts of names because of his being limited in this body is no other than He — the Supreme Being.]

य एवं वेत्ति पुरुषं प्रकृतिं च गुणैः सह ।

सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि न स भूयोऽभिजायते ॥ २३ ॥

23. He who thus knows *Purusha* and *Prakriti* with its *gunas*, is not born again, no matter how he live and move.

Read in the light of discourses II, IX, and XII this *shloka* may not be taken to support any kind of libertinism. It shows the virtue of self-surrender and selfless devotion. All actions bind the self, but if all are dedicated to the Lord they do not bind, rather they release him. He who has thus extinguished the 'self' or the thought of 'I' and who acts as ever in the great Witness' eye, will never sin nor err. The self-sense is

at the root of all error or sin. Where the 'I' has been extinguished, there is no sin. This *shloka* shows how to steer clear of all sin.

[23. The subject of Gandhiji's note has been dealt with in detail in 'My Submission']

ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति केचिदात्मानमात्मना ।

अन्ये सांख्येन योगेन कर्मयोगेन चापरे ॥ २४ ॥

24. Some through meditation behold the *Atman* by themselves in their own self; others by *Samkhya Yoga*, and others by *Karma Yoga*.

अन्ये त्वेवमजानंतः श्रुत्वाऽन्येभ्य उपासते ।

तेऽपि चातितरंत्येव मृत्युं श्रुतिपरायणाः ॥ २५ ॥

25. Yet others, not knowing (Him) thus, worship (Him) having heard from others; they too pass beyond death, because of devoted adherence to what they have heard.

यावत् संजायते किञ्चित् सत्त्वं स्थावरजंगमम् ।

क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगात् तद् विद्धि भरतर्षभ ॥ २६ ॥

26. Wherever something is born, animate or inanimate, know, thou Bharatarshabha, that it issues from the union of the Field and the Knower of the Field.

[This union, says Shankaracharya, is illusory like the union of a rope and a mother-of-pearl respectively with a snake and silver when they are mistaken one for the other owing to the absence of discriminative knowledge. But is it? To him who knows, perhaps, it is no more than this illusory union, but to those who don't know? "Man.", says Pascal, "is to himself the most wonderful object in nature; for he cannot conceive what

the body is, still less what the mind is, and least of all how a body should be united to a mind. This is the consummation of his difficulties, and yet it is his very being."]

समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु तिष्ठन्तं परमेश्वरम् ।

विनश्यत्स्वविनश्यन्तं यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥ २७ ॥

27. Who sees abiding in all beings the same *Parameshvara*, imperishable in the perishable, he sees indeed.

समं पश्यन् हि सर्वत्र समवस्थितमीश्वरम् ।

न हिनस्त्यात्मनाऽत्मानम् ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥ २८ ॥

28. When he sees the same *Ishvara* abiding everywhere alike, he does not hurt himself by himself and hence he attains the highest goal.

He who sees the same God everywhere merges in Him and sees naught else; he thus does not yield to passion, does not become his own foe and thus attains Freedom.

प्रकृत्यैव च कर्माणि क्रियमाणानि सर्वशः ।

यः पश्यति तथाऽत्मानम् अकर्तारं स पश्यति ॥ २९ ॥

29. Who sees that it is *Prakriti* that performs all actions and thus (knows) that *Atman* performs them not, he sees indeed.

Just as, in the case of a man who is asleep, his "Self" is not the agent of sleep, but *Prakriti*, even so the enlightened man will detach his "Self" from all activities. To the pure everything is pure. *Prakriti* is not unchaste, it is when arrogant man takes her to wife that of these twain passion is born.

यदा भूतपृथग्भावम् एकस्थमनुपश्यति ।

तत एव च विस्तारं ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥ ३० ॥

30. When he sees the diversity of beings as founded in unity and the whole expanse issuing therefrom, then he attains to *Brahman*.

To realize that everything rests in *Brahman* is to attain to the state of *Brahman*. Then *Jiva* becomes *Shiva*.

[The root of this thought lies in the famous *Br. Up.* text: "There is on earth no diversity. He goes from death to death who perceives here nothing but diversity. As a unity only is It to be perceived — this Indemonstrable, Enduring Being." (4. 4. 19)* It is this thought that captured the imagination of Schopenhauer who declared that the Hindu seer who can experience his own identity "with regard to everything with which he comes in contact. . . . is certain of all virtue and blessedness and is on the direct road to salvation."]

अनादित्वान्निर्गुणत्वात् परमात्माऽयमव्ययः ।

शरीरस्थोऽपि कौंतेय न करोति न लिप्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

31. This Imperishable Supreme *Atman*, O Kaunteya, though residing in the body, acts not and is not stained, for he has no beginning and no *gunas*.

यथा सर्वगतं सौक्ष्म्याद् आकाशं नोपलिप्यते ।

सर्वत्रावस्थितो देहे तथाऽत्मा नोपलिप्यते ॥ ३२ ॥

32. As the all-pervading ether, by reason of its subtlety, is not soiled, even so *Atman* pervading every part of the body is not soiled.

* मनसैवानुद्ष्टव्यं नेह नानास्ति किंचन ।

मृत्योः स मृत्युमाप्नोति य इह नानेव पश्यति ॥ बृहदारण्यक ४.४.१९

यथा प्रकाशयत्येकः कृत्स्नं लोकमिमं रविः ।

क्षेत्रं क्षेत्री तथा कृत्स्नं प्रकाशयति भारत ॥ ३३ ॥

33. As the one Sun illumines the whole universe, even so the Master of the Field illumines the whole field, O Bharata !

क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोरेवम् अंतरं ज्ञानचक्षुषा ।

भूतप्रकृतिमोक्षं च ये विदुर्याति ते परम् ॥ ३४ ॥

34. Those who, with the eyes of knowledge, thus perceive the distinction between the Field and the Knower of the Field, and (the secret) of the release of beings from *Prakriti*, they attain to the Supreme.

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञविभागयोगो नाम त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ।

Thus ends the thirteenth discourse, 'entitled ' *Kshetra-kshetragnavibhaga Yoga* ' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga*, as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE XIV

The description of Prakriti naturally leads on to that of its constituents, the Gunas, which form the subject of this discourse. And that, in turn, leads on to a description of the marks of him who has passed beyond the three Gunas. These are practically the same as those of the man of secure understanding (II. 54-72) as also those of the ideal Bhakta(XII. 12-20).

[The reader may read with profit the following interpretative summary of the fourteenth discourse given by Gandhiji in another connection :

“ Discourse 14 and the threefold division of the qualities of nature remind me of Henry Drummond's book I read about 30 years ago — *The Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. The laws are numerous, but they have been broadly classified under three heads. The 14th discourse describes the laws to which man is subject and the 15th describes *Purushottama* the Perfect Man. The 'ascent of man' is what we have to learn from these chapters. There is no man who is governed exclusively by one of the three *gunas* — *sattva*, *rajas* or *tamas*. We have each of us to rise to a state in which we are governed predominantly by the *sattva* principle, until at last we rise beyond the three and are 'Perfect Man'. I can think of an illustration from the physical world. Take water, which in its solid state remains on the earth: it cannot ascend until it is rarefied into steam. But once it is rarefied into steam it rises up in the sky where at last it is transformed into clouds which drop down in the form of rain and fructify and bless the earth. We are all like water, we have to strive so to rarefy ourselves that all the ego in us perishes and we merge in the infinite to the eternal good of all.” (M. D.'s Weekly Letter, *Young India* 12-1-'28.)]

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

परं भूयः प्रवक्ष्यामि ज्ञानानां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।

यज्ज्ञात्वा मुनयः सर्वे परां सिद्धिमितो गताः ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said :

1. Yet again will I expound the highest and the best of all knowledge, knowing which all the sages passed hence to the highest perfection.

इदं ज्ञानमुपाश्रित्य मम साधर्म्यमागताः ।

सर्गेऽपि नोपजायन्ते प्रलये न व्यथन्ति च ॥ २ ॥

2. By having recourse to this knowledge they became one with Me. They need not come to birth even at a creation, nor do they suffer at a dissolution.

मम योनिर्महद् ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम् ।

संभवः सर्वभूतानां ततो भवति भारत ॥ ३ ॥

3. The great *prakriti* is for me the womb in which I deposite the germ; from it all beings come to birth, O Bharata.

सर्वयोनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्तयः संभवन्ति याः ।

तासां ब्रह्म महद्योनिर् अहं बीजप्रदः पिता ॥ ४ ॥

4. Whatever forms take birth in the various species, the great *prakriti* is their Mother and I the seed-giving Father.

[Mother. Lit. 'Womb']

सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसंभवाः ।

निबध्नन्ति महाबाहो देहे देहितमव्ययम् ॥ ५ ॥

5. *Sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are the *gunas* sprung from *prakriti*; it is they, O Mahabahu,

that keep the imperishable Dweller bound to the body.

तत्र सत्त्वं निर्मलत्वात् प्रकाशकमनामयम् ।
सुखसंगेन बध्नाति ज्ञानसंगेन चानघ ॥ ६ ॥

6. Of these *sattva*, being stainless, is light-giving and healing; it binds with the bond of happiness and the bond of knowledge, O sinless one.

रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि तृष्णासंगसमुद्भवम् ।
तन् निबध्नाति कौन्तेय कर्मसंगेन देहिनम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. *Rajas*, know thou, is of the nature of passion, the source of thirst and attachment; it keeps man bound with the bond of action.

तमस्त्वज्ञानजं विद्धि मोहनं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
प्रमादालस्यनिद्राभिस् तन् निबध्नाति भारत ॥ ८ ॥

8. *Tamas*, know thou, born of ignorance, is mortal man's delusion; it keeps him bound with heedlessness, sloth and slumber, O Bharata.

सत्त्वं सुखे संजयति रजः कर्मणि भारत ।
ज्ञानमावृत्य तु तमः प्रमादे संजयत्युत ॥ ९ ॥

9. *Sattva* attaches man to happiness, *rajas* to action, and *tamas*, shrouding knowledge, attaches him to heedlessness.

रजस्तमश्चाभिभूय सत्त्वं भवति भारत ।
रजः सत्त्वं तमश्चैव तमः सत्त्वं रजस्तथा ॥ १० ॥

10. *Sattva* prevails, O Bharata, having overcome *rajas* and *tamas*; *rajas*, when it has overpowered *sattva* and *tamas*; likewise *tamas* reigns when *sattva* and *rajas* are crushed.

सर्वद्वारेषु देहेऽस्मिन् प्रकाश उपजायते ।

ज्ञानं यदा तदा विद्याद् विवृद्धं सत्त्वमित्युत ॥ ११ ॥

11. When the light — knowledge — shines forth from all the gates of this body, then it may be known that the *sattva* thrives.

लोभः प्रवृत्तिरारंभः कर्मणामशमः स्पृहा ।

रजस्येतानि जायंते विवृद्धे भरतर्षभ ॥ १२ ॥

12. Greed, activity, assumption of undertakings, restlessness, craving — these are in evidence when *rajas* flourishes, O Bharatarshabha.

अप्रकाशोऽप्रवृत्तिश्च प्रमादो मोह एव च ।

तमस्येतानि जायंते विवृद्धे कुरुनंदन ॥ १३ ॥

13. Ignorance, dullness, heedlessness, and delusion — these are in evidence when *tamas* reigns, O Kurunandana.

यदा सत्त्वे प्रवृद्धे तु प्रलयं याति देहभृत् ।

तदोत्तमविदां लोकान् अमलान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥ १४ ॥

14. If the embodied one meets his end whilst *sattva* prevails, then he attains to the spotless worlds of the knowers of the Highest.

[14. 'Spotless worlds of the knowers of the Highest'. It is difficult to say what exactly this means. The Knowers of the Highest cannot be men of self-realization or *jnani*s for there is no birth for them, whereas here rebirth is indicated. Shankaracharya says, 'Highest means *mahat* and the other principles' — an explanation which demands a further explanation! Tilak says: 'the worlds of the gods'. Bhide Shastri: " *Satyaloka, Vaikunth, Kailas, etc.*" Vinoba strikes an entirely new departure, whether warranted by the text it is difficult to say: 'He is born in spotless worlds in the company of *jnani*s'. The expla-

nation may perhaps be sought in the word *karmasangishu* (कर्मसंगिषु) in the next *shloka*. If *rajas* people are born among men attached to *karman*, then *sattvik* people are born among men attached to *jnana*, i. e. men pursuing the path of *jnana*. It is, I feel, some such reasoning which has led Vinoba to interpret the *shloka* as he has done, and I accept it for want of a better.]

रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसंगिषु जायते ।
तथा प्रलीनस्तमसि मूढयोनिषु जायते ॥ १५ ॥

15. If he dies during the reign within him of *rajas*, he is born among men attached to action; and if he dies in *tamas*, he is born in species not endowed with reason.

कर्मणः सुकृतस्याहुः सात्त्विकं निर्मलं फलम् ।
रजसस्तु फलं दुःखम् अज्ञानं तमसः फलम् ॥ १६ ॥

16. The fruit of *sattvika* action is said to be stainless merit; that of *rajas* is pain and that of *tamas* ignorance.

[The usual text is: '*Karmanah sukrutasyahus sattvikam nirmalam phalam.*' कर्मणः सुकृतस्याहुः सात्त्विकं निर्मलं फलम् । It is obviously a kind of spoonerism. It should read: '*Karmanah sattvikasyahus sukrutam nirmalam phalam.*' कर्मणः सात्त्विकस्याहुः सुकृतं निर्मलं फलम् ।]

सत्त्वात् संजायते ज्ञानं रजसो लोभ एव च ।
प्रमादमोहौ तमसो भवतोऽज्ञानमेव च ॥ १७ ॥

17. Of *sattva* knowledge is born, of *rajas*, greed; of *tamas* heedlessness, delusion and ignorance.

ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्था मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।
जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥ १८ ॥

18. Those abiding in *sattva* rise upwards, those in *rajas* stay midway, those in *tamas* sink downwards.

नान्यं गुणेभ्यः कर्तारं यदा द्रष्टाऽनुपश्यति ।
गुणेभ्यश्च परं वेत्ति मद्भावं सोऽधिगच्छति ॥ १९ ॥

19. When the seer perceives no agent other than the *gunas*, and knows Him who is above the *gunas*, he attains to My being.

As soon as a man realizes that he is not the doer, but the *gunas* are the agent, the 'self' vanishes, and he goes through all his actions spontaneously, just to sustain the body. And as the body is meant to subserve the highest end, all his actions will ever reveal detachment and dispassion. Such a seer can easily have a glimpse of the One who is *above* the *gunas* and offer his devotion to Him.

गुणानेतानतीत्य त्रीन् देही देहसमुद्भवान् ।
जन्ममृत्युजरादुःखैर् विमुक्तोऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ २० ॥

20. When the embodied one transcends these three *gunas* which are born of his contact with the body, he is released from the pain of birth death and age and attains deathlessness.

['Which are born of his contact with the body' is Gandhiji's translation of *dehasamudbhavan* (देहसमुद्भवान्) Hill explains the compound in a similar way: "Which exist in relation to the self because it is embodied." Many commentators follow Shankaracharya who explains 'Which are the seed out of which the body is evolved. I would like to interpret the compound thus: "which are the source of man's identifying his self with the body."]

मर्जुन उवाच ।

कैलिङ्गैस्त्रीन् गुणानेतान् अतीतो भवति प्रभो ।
किमाचारः कथं चैतान् त्रीन् गुणानतिवर्तते ॥ २१ ॥

Arjuna said:

21. What, O Lord, are the marks of him who has transcended the three *gunas*? How does he conduct himself? How does he transcend the three *gunas*?

श्री भगवानुवाच ।

प्रकाशं च प्रवृत्तिं च मोहमेव च पांडव ।
न द्वेष्टि संग्रवृत्तानि न निवृत्तानि कांक्षति ॥ २२ ॥

The Lord said:

22. He, O Pandava, who does not disdain light, activity, and delusion when they come into being, nor desires them when they vanish;

उदासीनवदासीनो गुणैर्यो न विचाल्यते ।
गुणा वर्तत इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नैगते ॥ २३ ॥

23. He, who, seated as one indifferent, is not shaken by the *gunas*, and stays still and moves not, knowing it is *gunas* playing their parts;

समदुःखसुखः स्वस्थः समलोष्टाश्मकांचनः ।
तुल्यप्रियाप्रियो धीरस् तुल्यनिंदाऽत्मसंस्तुतिः ॥ २४ ॥

24. He who holds pleasure and pain alike, who is sedate, who regards as same earth, stone and gold, who is wise and weighs in equal scale things pleasant and unpleasant, who is even-minded in praise and blame;

मानापमानयोस्तुल्यस् तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः ।

सर्वरिंभपरित्यागी गुणातीतः स उच्यते ॥ २५ ॥

25. Who holds alike respect and disrespect who is the same to friend and foe, who indulges in no undertakings — That man is called *gunatita*.

Shls. 22-25 must be read and considered together. Light, activity and delusion, as we have seen in the foregoing *shlokas*, are the products or indications of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* respectively. The inner meaning of these verses is that he who has transcended the *gunas* will be unaffected by them. A stone does not desire light, nor does it disdain activity or inertness; it is still without having the will to be so. If some one puts it into motion, it does not fret; if again, it is allowed to lie still, it does not feel that inertness or delusion has seized it. The difference between a stone and a *gunatita* is that the latter has full consciousness and with full knowledge he shakes himself free from the bonds that bind an ordinary mortal. He has, as a result of his knowledge, achieved the repose of a stone. Like the stone he is witness, but not the doer, of the activities of the *gunas* or *prakriti*. Of such *jnani* one may say that he is sitting still, unshaken in the knowledge that it is the *gunas* playing their parts. We who are every moment of our lives acting, as though *we* were the doers can only imagine the state, we can hardly experience it. But we can hitch our waggon to that star and work our way closer and closer towards it by gradually withdrawing the self from our actions. A *gunatita* has experience of his own condition but he cannot describe it, for he who can describe it ceases to be one. The moment he proceeds to do so, 'self' peeps in. The peace and light and bustle and inertness of our common experience are illusory. The Gita itself has made it clear in so many

words that the *sattvika* state is the one nearest that of a *gunatita*. Therefore everyone should strive to develop more and more *sattva* in himself, believing that some day he will reach the goal of the state of *gunatita*.

मां च योऽव्यभिचारेण भक्तियोगेन सेवते ।
स गुणान् समतीत्यैतान् ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ २६ ॥

26. He who serves Me with an unwavering and exclusive *bhaktiyoga* transcends these *gunas* and is worthy to become one with *Brahman*.

ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाऽहम् अमृतस्याव्ययस्य च ।
शाश्वतस्य च धर्मस्य सुखस्यैकांतिकस्य च ॥ २७ ॥

27. For I am the very image of *Brahman*, changeless and deathless, as also of everlasting *dharma* and perfect bliss.

(The *gunatita* is not devoid of all *gunas*, but beyond all *gunas*, not full of *sattva*, which every aspirant will try to be, but pure unadulterated *sattva* itself, without a particle of *rajas* or *tamas*. That Perfection is He, who is SAT-CHIT-ANANDA : being the very image of *Brahman* He is *Sat* — the Truth or the Reality; He is *Chit* inasmuch as He contains in Himself everlasting *Dharma* — the eternal law of cosmic evolution; He is *Ananda* because the abode of perfect bliss.)

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
गुणत्रयविभागयोगो नाम चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥ १४ ॥

Thus ends the fourteenth discourse, entitled 'Gunatrayavibhag Yoga' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga*, as part of the knowledge of *Brahman*, in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE XV

This discourse deals with the Supreme Form of the Lord, transcending *Kshara* (perishable) and *Akshara* (imperishable).

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखम् अश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।

छंदासि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said:

1. With its root above and branches below the *ashvattha* tree, they say, is imperishable; it has Vedic hymns for its leaves; he who knows it knows the Vedas.

Shvaha means tomorrow, and *ashvattha* (*na shvopi sthata*) means that which will not last even until tomorrow, i. e. the world of sense which is every moment in a state of flux. But even though it is perpetually changing, as its root is *Brahman* or the Supreme, it is imperishable. It has for its protection and support the leaves of the Vedic hymns, i. e. *dharma*. He who knows the world of sense as such and who knows *dharma* is the real *jnani*, that man has really known the Vedas.

अधश्चोर्ध्वं प्रसृतास्तस्य शाखा

गुणप्रवृद्धा विषयप्रवालाः ।

अधश्च मूलान्यनुसंततानि

कर्मानुबंधीनि मनुष्यलोके ॥ २ ॥

2. Above and below its branches spread, blossoming because of the *gunas*, having for their shoots the sense-objects; deep down in the world of men are ramified its roots, in the shape of the consequences of action.

This is the description of the tree of the world of sense as the unenlightened see it. They fail to discover its Root above in *Brahman* and so they are always attached to the objects of sense. They water the tree with the three *gunas* and remain bound to *Karman* in the world of men.

[1-2. The *ashvattha* tree with the Root above and branches below is described in the *Katha Up.* as "the eternal, immortal *Brahman*", whereas here it is the tree ever perishable, but eternal in its changefulness. The *ashvattha* is the *Ficus Religiosa* or the *peepal* tree, as Tilak has conclusively shown. Its Root or Primeval Seed is *Brahman*—described poetically as "above", and its multi-branched expanse is below manifest to our eyes. But in *shl.* 2 the roots are said to be below inasmuch as ordinary mortals forget the Root and always think of the worldly roots. The branches are said to spread up and down, for the actions which are the result of past actions throw down rootlets which issue again in actions—representing the ceaseless cycle of birth and death, death and birth. Hill is mistaken in thinking that the *peepal* does not "drop down aerial roots to take fresh roots in the earth." They *do* when they grow to an old age.

Prof. Ranade ('*Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*') compares the *ashvattha* with the Tree *Igdrasil* in Scandinavian mythology, described in Carlyle's picturesque language in his "Heroes": "Its boughs with their buddings and disleafings—events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes—stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fibre there an act or word? Its boughs are histories of nations. The rustle of it is the noise of human existence, onwards from of old. It grows there, the breath of human passion rustling through it . . . It is *Igdrasil*, the Tree of Existence. It is the past, the present and the future; what was done, what is doing, what will be done: the infinite conjugation of the verb *to do*." Prof. Ranade notices one important point of contrast, viz. that the Tree *Igdrasil* has

“its roots deep down in the kingdom of Hela or Death.” I think he seems to forget *shl.* 2 where the roots — and not the Root as in *shl.* I — are said to be “ramified down below.” The comparison would thus seem to be closer and more instructive than the learned professor thinks. The conjugation of the verb *to do* is the eternal bondage of *Karma* or ever recurring death, if man will not open his eyes to the imperishable Root up above which is deathlessness as Gandhiji has shown in his note on *XV.2*. See also *XII. 7* where *sansara* is described as death itself.]

न रूपमस्येह तथोपलभ्यते

नान्तो न चादिर्न च संप्रतिष्ठा ।

अश्वत्थमेनं सुविरूढमूलम्

असंगशस्त्रेण दृढेन छित्त्वा ॥ ३ ॥

ततः पदं तत् परिमार्गितव्यम्

यस्मिन् गता न निवर्तन्ति भूयः ।

तमेव चाद्यं पुरुषं प्रपद्ये

यतः प्रवृत्तिः प्रसृता पुराणी ॥ ४ ॥

3. Its form as such is not here perceived, neither is its end, nor beginning, nor basis. Let man first hew down this deep-rooted *Ashvattha* with the sure weapon of detachment;

4. Let him pray to win to that haven from which there is no return and seek to find refuge in the Primal Being from whom has emanated this ancient world of action.

‘Detachment’ in *shl.* 3 here means dispassion, aversion from the objects of the senses. Unless man is determined to cut himself off from the temptations of the world of sense he will go deeper into its mire every day. These verses show that one dare not play with the objects of the senses with impunity.

निर्मानमोहा जितसंगदोषा

अध्यात्मनित्या विनिवृत्तकामाः ।

द्वंद्वैर्विमुक्ताः सुखदुःखसंज्ञैर्

गच्छन्त्यमूढाः पदमव्ययं तत् ॥ ५ ॥

5. To that imperishable haven those enlightened souls go—who are without pride and delusion, who have triumphed over the taints of attachment, who are ever in tune with the Supreme, whose passions have died, who are exempt from the pairs of opposites, such as pleasure and pain.

न तद् भासयते सूर्यो न शशांको न पावकः ।

यद् गत्वा न निवर्तन्ते तद् धाम परमं मम ॥ ६ ॥

6. Neither the sun, nor the moon, nor fire illumine it; men who arrive there return not—that is My supreme abode.

[The same thought occurs over and over again in the *Upanishads*: “There the sun shines not, nor the moon, nor the stars, nor the lightning, much less this common fire! All shines because He shines, all shines after Him, with His light. *Katha Up.* 2.-5.-15, *Mund. Up.* 2.-2.-10, *Shve-6-14.**]

ममैवांशो जीवल्लोके जीवभूतः सनातनः ।

मनः षष्ठानीन्द्रियाणि प्रकृतिस्थानि कर्षति ॥ ७ ॥

7. A part indeed of Myself which has been the eternal *Jiva* in this world of life, attracts the mind and the five senses from their place in *prakriti*,

* न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं । नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः ॥
तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं । तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ॥

कठ. २-५-१५ : मुण्डक. २-२-१० : श्वेताश्वतर ६-१४.

[Shankaracharya says : " An integral portion of the Supreme is the individual soul manifesting himself in everyone, just like the reflection of the sun in water or a part of the ether limited in a jar. The water and the jar removed, the sun is the same sun and the ether the same ether."]

शरीरं यदवाप्नोति यच्चाप्युत्क्रामतीश्वरः ।

गृहीत्वैतानि संयाति वायुर्गंधानिवाशयात् ॥ ८ ॥

8. When the Master (of the body) acquires a body and discards it he carries these with him wherever he goes, even as the wind carries scents from flower beds.

श्रोत्रं चक्षुः स्पर्शनं च रसनं घ्राणमेव च ।

अधिष्ठाय मनश्चायं विषयानुपसेवते ॥ ९ ॥

9. Having settled himself in the senses—ear, eye, touch, taste, and smell—as well as the mind, through them he frequents their objects.

These objects are the natural objects of the senses. The frequenting or enjoyment of these would be tainted if there were the sense of 'I' about it; otherwise it is pure, even as a child's enjoyment of these objects is innocent.

उत्क्रामन्तं स्थितं वाऽपि भुञ्जानं वा गुणान्वितम् ।

विमूढा नानुपश्यन्ति पश्यन्ति ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥ १० ॥

10. The deluded perceive Him not as He leaves, or settles in, (a body) or enjoys (sense objects) in association with the *gunas*; it is those endowed with the eye of knowledge who alone see Him.

[i. e. perceive Him as He truly is, as one having nothing to do with the many processes mentioned here.]

यतंतो योगिनश्चेनं पश्यंत्यात्मन्यवस्थितम् ।

यतंतोऽप्यकृतात्मानो नैनं पश्यंत्यचेतसः ॥ ११ ॥

11. *Yogins* who strive see Him seated in themselves; the witless ones who have not cleansed themselves see him not, even though they strive.

This does not conflict with the covenant that God has made even with the sinner in discourse 9. *Akritatman* (अकृतात्मन्) (who has not cleansed himself) means one who has no devotion in him, who has not made up his mind to purify himself. The most confirmed sinner, if he has humility enough to seek refuge in surrender to God, purifies himself and succeeds in finding Him. Those who do not care to observe the cardinal and the casual vows and expect to find God through bare intellectual exercise are witless, Godless; they will not find Him.

यदादित्यगतं तेजो जगद् भासयतेऽखिलम् ।

यच्चंद्रमसि यच्चाशौ तत् तेजो विद्धि मामकम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. The light in the sun which illumines the whole universe and which is in the moon and in fire—that light, know thou, is Mine;

गामाविश्य च भूतानि धारयाम्यहमोजसा ।

पुष्णामि चौषधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः ॥ १३ ॥

13. It is I, who penetrating the earth uphold all beings with my strength, and becoming the moon—the essence of all sap—nourish all the herbs;

अहं वैश्वानरो भूत्वा प्राणिनां देहमाश्रितः ।

प्राणापानसमायुक्तः पचाम्यन्नं चतुर्विधम् ॥ १४ ॥

14. It is I who becoming the Vaishvanara Fire and entering the bodies of all that breathe, assimilate the four kinds of food with the help of the outward and the inward breaths;

[Four kinds: masticated, sucked, licked and drunk.]

[12-14. All the elements derive their virtue or power from Him, all the properties that we associate with matter really derive from Him, because He pervades all. In the Upanishad parable, the fire could not burn a straw, nor could the wind carry it off, and Indra had to recognize that it was verily the power of *Brahman* of which the power in all other things — the mighty elements themselves — was the reflection. *Kena Up.* 3-4.]

सर्वस्य चाहं हृदि संनिविष्टो

मत्तः स्मृतिर्ज्ञानमपोहनं च ।

वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो

वेदांतकृद् वेदविदेव चाहम् ॥ १५ ॥

15. And I am seated in the hearts of all, from Me proceed memory, knowledge and the dispelling of doubt; it is I who am to be known in all the Vedas, I, the author of Vedanta and the knower of the Vedas.

[Vedanta (lit. end of the Vedas) may mean the doctrine set out at the end of the Vedas, i. e. in *Upanishads* or “the essence of the Vedas”, as *Muktikopanishad** says: ‘Vedanta is well-grounded in the Veda even as oil in the sesamum seed.’]

द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।

क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥ १६ ॥

16. There are two Beings in the world: *kshara* (perishable) and *akshara* (imperishable). *Kshara* embraces all creatures and their permanent basis is *akshara*.

[One is apt to take *kshara* and *akshara* in this *shloka* as corresponding to *kshetra* and *kshetrajna* in XIII. 1 or *para prakriti* and *apara prakriti* in VII. 5, as indeed Hill has done following Ramanuja.

* तिलेषु तैलवद् वेदे वेदान्तः सुप्रतिष्ठितः । मुक्तिक. १. ९.

But there are two or three serious difficulties : (1) The Lord has again and again declared His identity with *kshetrajna* — the knower of the field (XIII. 2, XIII. 22); (2) Lord Krishna is here speaking not of the two aspects of the Supreme as in VII. 5—lower nature and higher nature—, but of the two aspects of the world (*loke dvau imau purushau*) (लोके द्वौ इमौ पुरुषौ), *akshara* being the unmanifested *prakriti* which is the permanent basis of all the manifest creation. It is *akshara*—imperishable or eternal as compared to the everchanging things of the world which are described as *kshara* — perishable. (3) This is exactly how Samkhya describes these two aspects; the Gita accepts the language of description, but declares that the real Imperishable and Unmanifest beyond what is commonly understood to be unmanifest and imperishable is the *Purushottama* — the Supreme Being (17). It is this Supreme Being that pervades and informs and supports the worlds. Compare with this *shloka* VIII. 20 which expresses the same idea. (4) Hill quotes in his support *Shve. Up.* I. 10, but the *Shve. Up.* speaks throughout that section of the *prakriti*, *atman*, and *paramatman*. It does not refer to the aspects of the world. Here i. e. in *Shl.* 17 there is something transcending the world or the worlds — both as *atman* and *paramatman* that is being spoken of. See *Mund. Up.* 2.-1.-2 quoted in the next note, which seems to be conclusive on this point.]

उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।

यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य विभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥ १७ ॥

17. The Supreme Being is surely another — called *Paramatman* who as the Imperishable *Ishvara* pervades and supports the three worlds.

यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहम् अक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।

अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ १८ ॥

18. Because I transcend the *kshara* and am also higher than the *akshara*, I am known

in the world and in the Vedas as *Purushottama* (the Highest Being).

['In the Vedas' i. e. in the *Upanishads* particularly, though the '*Purusha*' of the famous Vedic hymn is '*Purushottama*'. In *Mund. Up.* 2. 1. 1-2 we have the Supreme Being described as higher than " the Imperishable from which diverse beings are produced." " Divine and inconcrete is the *Purusha*, unborn, breathless, mindless, spotless, higher than the high imperishable."* Also *Shve. Up.* 1. 7-12 which describes the Supreme Being.]

यो मामेवमसंमूढो जानाति पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
स सर्वविद् भजति मां सर्वभावेन भारत ॥ १९ ॥

19. He who, undeluded, knows Me as *Purushottama*, knows all, he worships Me with all his heart, O Bharata.

इति गुह्यतमं शास्त्रम् इदमुक्तं मयानघ ।
एतद् बुध्वा बुद्धिमान् स्यात् कृतकृत्यश्च भारत ॥ २० ॥

20. Thus I have revealed to thee, sinless one, this most mysterious *shastra*; he who understands this, O Bharata, is a man of understanding, he has fulfilled his life's mission.

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
पुरुषोत्तमयोगो नाम पंचदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १५ ॥

Thus ends the fifteenth discourse entitled '*Purushottama Yoga*' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga*, as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the *Upanishad* called the *Bhagawadgita*.

* तथाक्षराद्विविधाः सोम्य भावाः । प्रजायन्ते तत्र चेवापियन्ति ॥१॥
दिव्यो ह्यमूर्तः पुरुषः । स बाह्याभ्यन्तरो ह्यजः ॥
अप्राणो ह्यमनाः शुभ्रो ह्यक्षरात्परतः परः ॥२॥ मुण्डक. २. १. १-२

DISCOURSE XVI

This discourse treats of the divine and the devilish heritage.

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

अभयं सत्त्वसंशुद्धिर् ज्ञानयोगव्यवस्थितिः ।

दानं दमश्च यज्ञः च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जवम् ॥ १ ॥

The Lord said:

1. Fearlessness, purity of heart, steadfastness in *jnana* and *yoga*—knowledge and action, beneficence, self-restraint, sacrifice, spiritual study, austerity, and uprightness;

अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस् त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् ।

दया भूतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरचापलम् ॥ २ ॥

2. Non-violence, truth, slowness to wrath, the spirit of dedication, serenity, aversion to slander, tenderness to all that lives, freedom from greed, gentleness, modesty, freedom from levity;

तेजः क्षमा धृतिः शौचम् अद्रोहो नातिमानिता ।

भवन्ति संपदं दैवीम् अभिजातस्य भारत ॥ ३ ॥

3. Spiritedness, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, freedom from ill will and arrogance—these are to be found in one born with the divine heritage, O Bharata.

दंभो दर्पोऽभिमानश्च क्रोधः पारुष्यमेव च ।

अज्ञानं चाभिजातस्य पार्थ संपदमासुरीम् ॥ ४ ॥

4. Pretentiousness, arrogance, self-conceit, wrath, coarseness, ignorance — these are to be found in one born with the devilish heritage.

दैवी संपद् विमोक्षाय निबंधायासुरी मता ।

मा शुचः संपदं दैवीम् अभिजातोऽसि पांडव ॥ ५ ॥

5. The divine heritage makes for Freedom, the devilish for bondage. Grieve not, O Partha: thou art born with a divine heritage.

[1-5: 'Walk in the spirit', says St. Paul, 'and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.' The last verses of Gal. 4 are worth comparing with practically the whole of this discourse :

"Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness. . . . I tell you that they which do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance . . . If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another." Gal. 4. 16-26.

It is perhaps better to describe the virtues as "the fruit of the spirit" than as "a divine heritage" and the vices as "the works of the flesh" rather than as "a devilish heritage". For there are no watertight compartments of the divine and devilish natures; it is one's works that determine one's character on every occasion and at each stage of life. In fact the Gita itself recognizes this when, towards the end of the discourse, man is asked to shun the three portals of hell.

Having said this, let me say that the disparaging remark of a Christian critic, that in this list of virtues it is only "the passive virtues that are most prominent", is wholly mistaken. To understand what these virtues mean to him who lives them, one has but to turn to Jnanesvara's scores of *ovi* stanzas describing the implications

of each of them. Let it be noted that fearlessness which is at the head of the list is perhaps the most positive of the virtues. The *Upanishads* thus laid down the conditions of fearlessness: "When he realized that there was no other than he, his fear fled; for it is the 'otherness' from which proceeds fear" (**Brh. Up.* 1. 4. 2); "He who has known the joy of *Brahman* never fears" (+*Tait. Up.* 2. 4); "When he is securely established in that invisible, inconcrete, fearless, he becomes fearless" (x*Tait. Up.* 2. 7). All other virtues naturally flow from this virtue. And Gandhiji has often said: "When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how high-placed he may be. If you want to follow the vow of truth, fearlessness is the necessary consequence".

In the second verse follow non-violence and truth — *ahimsa* and *satya*, both of which may be called the obverse and reverse of the coin of fearlessness. If truth presupposes fearlessness, inoffensiveness or non-violence is, as Gandhiji has said, "the acme of fearlessness."]

द्वौ भूतसर्गौ लोकेऽस्मिन् दैव आसुर एव च ।
दैवो विस्तरशः प्रोक्तः आसुरं पार्थ मे शृणु ॥ ६ ॥

6. There are two orders of created beings in this world — the divine and the devilish; the divine order has been described in detail, hear from Me now of the devilish, O Partha.

प्रवृत्तिं च निवृत्तिं च जना न विदुरासुराः ।
न शौचं नापि चाचारो न सत्यं तेषु विद्यते ॥ ७ ॥

* सोऽविभेत्तस्मादेकाकी विभेति सहायमीक्षांचके यन्मदन्यत्रास्ति कस्मान्नु विभेतीति तत एवास्य भयं वीयाय कस्माद्धभेष्यद् द्वितीयाद्भै भयं भवति ।

बृहदारण्यक. २. ४. २

+ आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो विद्वान् । न विभेति कदाचन ॥

तैत्तिरीय २. ४

x यदा ह्येष एतस्मिन्नदृश्येऽनात्म्येऽनिरुक्तेऽनिल्यनेऽभयं प्रतिष्ठां विदन्ते ।
अथ सोऽभयं गतो भवति ।

तैत्तिरीय. २. ७.

7. Men of the devil do not know what they may do and what they may not do; neither is there purity, nor right conduct, nor truth to be found in them.

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् ।

अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत् कामहेतुकम् ॥ ८ ॥

8. 'Without truth, without basis, without God is the universe', they say; 'born of the union of the sexes, prompted by naught but lust'.

एतां दृष्टिमवष्टभ्य नष्टात्मानोऽल्पबुद्धयः ।

प्रभवन्त्युग्रकर्माणः क्षयाय जगतोऽहिताः ॥ ९ ॥

9. Holding this view, these depraved souls, of feeble understanding and of fierce deeds, come forth as enemies of the world to destroy it.

काममाश्रित्य दुष्पूरं दंभमानमदान्विताः ।

मोहाद् गृहीत्वाऽसद्ग्राहान् प्रवर्तन्तेऽशुचिब्रताः ॥ १० ॥

10. Given to insatiable lust, possessed by pretentiousness, arrogance and conceit, they seize wicked purposes in their delusion, and go about pledged to unclean deeds.

चित्तामपरिमेयां च प्रलयान्तामुपाश्रिताः ।

कामोपभोगपरमा एतावदिति निश्चिताः ॥ ११ ॥

11. Given to boundless cares that end only with their death, making indulgence of lust their sole goal, convinced that that is all;

[These cares are "sorrows of the world" which work death, but not "godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation" (2. Co. 7.10)]

आशापाशशतैर्बद्धाः कामक्रोधपरायणाः ।

ईहन्ते कामभोगार्थम् अन्यायेनार्थसंचयान् ॥ १२ ॥

12. Caught in a myriad snares of hope, slaves to lust and wrath, they seek unlawfully to amass wealth for the satisfaction of their appetites.

इदमद्य मया लब्धम् इमं प्राप्स्ये मनोरथम् ।
इदमस्तीदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम् ॥ १३ ॥

13. 'This have I gained today; this aspiration shall I now attain; this wealth is mine; this likewise shall be mine hereafter;

असौ मया हतः शत्रुर् हनिष्ये चापरानपि ।
ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान् सुखी ॥ १४ ॥

14. 'This enemy I have already slain, others also I shall slay; lord of all am I; enjoyment is mine, perfection is mine, strength is mine, happiness is mine;

आढ्योऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सदृशो मया ।
यक्ष्ये दास्यामि मोदिष्य इत्यज्ञानविमोहिताः ॥ १५ ॥

15. 'Wealthy am I, and high-born. What other is like unto me? I shall perform a sacrifice! I shall give alms! I shall be merry!' Thus think they, by ignorance deluded;

अनेकचित्तविभ्रान्ताः मोहजालसमावृताः ।
प्रसक्ताः कामभोगेषु पतन्ति नरकेऽशुचौ ॥ १६ ॥

16. And tossed about by diverse fancies, caught in the net of delusion, stuck deep in the indulgence of appetites, into foul hell they fall.

आत्मसंभाविताः स्तब्धाः धनमानमदान्विताः ।
यजन्ते नामयज्ञैस्ते दंभेनाविधिपूर्वकम् ॥ १७ ॥

17. Wise in their own conceit, stubborn, full of the intoxication of self and pride, they offer nominal sacrifices for show, contrary to the rule.

अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं च संश्रिताः ।

मामात्मपरदेहेषु प्रद्विषन्तोऽभ्यसूयकाः ॥ १८ ॥

18. Given to pride, force, arrogance, lust and wrath, they are deriders indeed, scorning Me in their own and others' bodies.

तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान् ।

क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभान् आसुरीष्वेव योनिषु ॥ १९ ॥

19. These cruel scorners, lowest of mankind and vile, I hurl down again and again, into devilish wombs.

[cf. Koran : "Leave Me to deal with the deniers, lords of ease and comfort." (73. 11)]

आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मनि जन्मनि ।

मामप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो यान्त्यधमां गतिम् ॥ २० ॥

20. Doomed to devilish wombs, these deluded ones, far from ever coming to Me, sink lower and lower in birth after birth.

त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।

कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस् तस्मादेतत् त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ २१ ॥

21. Three-fold is this gate of hell, leading man to perdition—Lust, Wrath and Greed; these three, therefore, should be shunned.

एतैर्विमुक्तः कौन्तेय तमोद्वारैस्त्रिभिर्नरः ।

आचरत्यात्मनः श्रेयस् ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥ २२ ॥

22. The man who escapes these three gates of Darkness, O Kaunteya, works out his welfare and thence reaches the highest state.

यः शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य वर्तते कामकारतः ।

न स सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न सुखं न परां गतिम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. He who forsakes the rule of *shastra* and does but the bidding of his selfish desires, gains neither perfection, nor happiness, nor the highest state.

Shastra does not mean the rites and formulæ laid down in the so called *dharmashastra*, but the path of self-restraint laid down by the seers and the saints.

तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।

ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तम् कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥ २४ ॥

24. Therefore let *shastra* be thy authority for determining what ought to be done and what ought not to be done; ascertain thou the rule of the *shastra* and do thy task here (accordingly).

Shastra here too has the same meaning as in the preceding *shloka*. Let no one be a law unto himself, but take as his authority the law laid down by men who have known and lived religion.

[23-24. *Shastra*. Gandhiji has in his note rightly warned the readers against taking *shastra* in its commonly accepted sense. But it may not be quite necessary, as he has done, to define *shastra* differently. The *shastra* referred to here is none other than the *shastra* expounded by the Gita — the doctrine of detached or dedicated or selfless action. The very first part of *shl.* 23 makes it clear: the rule of the *shastra* as against working at the bidding of one's selfish desires. In the field of devotion, *shastra*

is the *shastra* of which the exposition was concluded with XV. 20 (q. v.). That doctrine is the doctrine of the worship of one God, Purushottama who pervades, penetrates and supports the universe, and not the worship of gods and spirits.

That *shastra* cannot here mean the so called scriptures needs no argument. It would be absurd if, after expounding so thoroughly the doctrine of selfless work and of the worship of the One, the Gita should spring a surprise upon the readers by asking them to go to the scriptures for determining the course of their conduct.

In another connection Gandhiji said: "Nothing that is inconsistent with the main theme of the Gita is *shastra*, no matter where it is found printed." Also:

"Gita is the key to a knowledge of the *shastras*. It enunciates the principles on which all conduct must be based. It sums up the whole of the *Shastras*." (Gandhiji in *Harijan* 22-12-'33)

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
दैवासुरसंपद्विभागयोगो नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥ १६ ॥

Thus ends the sixteenth discourse, entitled, ' *Daivasurasampadvibhaga Yoga*' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga* as part of the knowledge of *Brahman*, in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

DISCOURSE XVII

On being asked to consider *Shashtra* (conduct of the worthy) as the authority, Arjuna is faced with a difficulty. What is the position of those who may not be able to accept the authority of *Shashtra* but who may act in faith? An answer to the question is attempted in this discourse. Krishna rests content with pointing out the rocks and shoals on the path of one who forsakes the beaconlight of *Shashtra* (conduct of the worthy). In doing so he deals with faith and sacrifice, austerity and charity performed with faith, and their divisions according to the spirit in which they are performed. He also sings the greatness of the mystic syllables *AUM TAT SAT*—a formula of dedication of all work to God.

[17th Discourse: See my note on XVI. 23-24. As Lord Krishna has already told Arjuna that the doctrine of selfless work—the *shastra* expounded in the Gita—is the sole authority in conduct, there may appear to be no occasion for the question in the first *shloka* here. There is, however. For, in XVI. 23-24 the sphere of conduct was under consideration, here it is that of devotion that is in question. Arjuna has been told in IX. 23-25 that there are people who worship gods and manes and spirits. These too worship in faith—faith in a scripture of some kind or other, or some kind of religious faith, as we have seen in VII. 21. Arjuna therefore asks: 'How should one classify these worshippers, who worship in faith, but who neglect the rule of the *shastra* to worship one God?' The whole of the discourse is in reply to that question. Sacrifice, austerity, charity may be taken to be forms of worship, or devotional conduct which is coloured by a man's faith or belief in the scriptures as he understands them. He will not only sacrifice to a particular kind of gods, but do so in a particular kind of spirit.

I have taken this line of argument in "My Submission" (pp. 92-94) and analysed the seventeenth discourse accordingly. Here in the text I have not presumed to disturb Gandhiji's argument or translation.]

अर्जुन उवाच ।

ये शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य यजन्ते श्रद्धयाऽन्विताः ।
तेषां निष्ठा तु का कृष्ण सत्त्वमाहो रजस्तमः ॥ १ ॥

Arjuna said :

1. What, then, O Krishna, is the position of those who forsake the rule of *Shashtra* and yet worship with faith? Do they act from *sattva* or *rajas* or *tamas*?

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

त्रिविधा भवति श्रद्धा देहिनां सा स्वभावजा ।
सात्त्विकी राजसी चैव तामसी चेति तां शृणु ॥ २ ॥

The Lord said :

2. Threefold is the faith of men, an expression of their nature in each case; it is *sattvika*, *rajasa* or *tamasa*. Hear thou of it.

सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धा भवति भारत ।
श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः ॥ ३ ॥

3. The faith of every man is in accord with his innate character; man is made up of faith; whatever his object of faith, even so is he.

[See my note on IX. 25.]

यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ॥ ४ ॥

4. *Sattvika* persons worship the gods; *rajasa* ones, the Yakshas and Rakshasas; and others—men of *tamas*—worship manes and spirits.

अशास्त्रविहितं घोरं तप्यन्ते ये तपो जनाः ।
दंभार्हंकारसंयुक्ताः कामरागबलान्विताः ॥ ५ ॥

5. Those men who, wedded to pretentiousness and arrogance, possessed by the violence of lust and passion, practise fierce austerity not ordained by *shastra*;

कर्षयन्तः शरीरस्थम् भूतग्राममचेतसः ।
मां चैवान्तःशरीरस्थं तान् विद्ध्यसुरनिश्चयान् ॥ ६ ॥

6. They, whilst they torture the several elements that make up their bodies, torture Me too dwelling in them; know them to be of unholy resolves.

आहारस्त्वपि सर्वस्य त्रिविधो भवति प्रियः ।
यज्ञस्तपस्तथा दानम् तेषां भेदमिमं शृणु ॥ ७ ॥

7. Of three kinds again is the food that is dear to each; so also (their) sacrifice, austerity, and charity. Hear how they differ.

आयुःसत्त्वबलारोग्यसुखप्रीतिविवर्धनाः ।
रस्याः स्निग्धाः स्थिरा हृद्या आहाराः सात्त्विकप्रियाः ॥ ८ ॥

8. Victuals that add to one's years, vitality, strength, health, happiness and appetite; are savoury, rich, substantial and inviting, are dear to the *sattvika*.

कट्वम्ललवणात्युष्णतीक्ष्णरूक्षविदाहिनः ।
आहारा राजसस्येष्टा दुःखशोकामयप्रदाः ॥ ९ ॥

9. Victuals that are bitter, sour, salty, over-hot, spicy, dry, burning, and causing pain, bitterness and disease, are dear to the *rajasa*.

यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत् ।

उच्छिष्टमपि चामेध्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम् ॥ १० ॥

10. Food which has become cold, insipid, putrid, stale, discarded and unfit for sacrifice, is dear to the *tamasa*.

अफलाकांक्षिभिर्यज्ञो विधिदृष्टो य इज्यते ।

यष्टव्यमेवेति मनः समाधाय स सात्त्विकः ॥ ११ ॥

11. That sacrifice is *sattvika* which is willingly offered as a duty without desire for fruit and according to the rule.

अभिसंधाय तु फलं दंभार्थमपि चैव यत् ।

इज्यते भरतश्रेष्ठ तं यज्ञं विद्धि राजसम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. But when sacrifice is offered with an eye to fruit, and for vainglory, know, O Bharata-shreshtha, that it is *rajasa*.

विधिहीनमसृष्टान्नं मंत्रहीनमदक्षिणम् ।

श्रद्धाविरहितं यज्ञं तामसं परिचक्षते ॥ १३ ॥

13. Sacrifice which is contrary to the rule, which produces no food, which lacks the sacred text, which involves no giving up, and which is devoid of faith is said to be *tamasa*.

[*Asrishtannam*, (असृष्टान्नम्) ordinarily translated 'in which no food is distributed', is deliberately translated by Gandhiji thus: 'which produces no food'. In doing so, he seems to rely both on Manu and the Gita (See III. 14): sacrifice produces rain which produces food. All sacrifice must be creative.

Gandhiji's interpretation of 'adakshinam' (अदक्षिणम्) as 'which involves no (*dakshina*) giving up' is also different from the usual interpretation, 'devoid of prescribed fees to the priests'. Apart from the crude selfishness involved in the orthodox interpretation, the term '*dakshina*' (gift) has certainly been used in a highly spiritual sense in the *Upanishads*, as is apparent from *Chh. Up.* 3. 17. 4 where "austerity, charity, uprightness, non-violence and truthfulness"* are said to be the "gifts" to be offered at the sacrifice. The "giving up" in Gandhiji's translation means the giving up of something one holds dear. But the *Chh. Up.* would go even further and suggest the giving by the sacrificer of a promise to lead a life of the cardinal vows mentioned above. That is giving of oneself a pure sacrifice.

Under my line of argument, however, even the orthodox interpretation would do, the sense being that the worst sacrifice would be that in which even the orthodox *shastraic* rule of feeding the *Brahmanas* etc. is not satisfied.]

देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनं शौचमार्जवम् ।
ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शरीरं तप उच्यते ॥ १४ ॥

14. Homage to the gods, to *Brahmanas*, to *gurus* and to wise men; cleanliness, uprightness, *brahmacharya* and non-violence — these constitute austerity (*tapas*) of the body.

[“Non-violence with which Gandhiji has familiarized us is what St. Augustine calls “inoffensiveness”. As Gandhiji defines it — “Avoiding injury or offence to anything on earth in thought, word and deed.”]

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।
स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव बाह्यमयं तप उच्यते ॥ १५ ॥

* अथ यत्तपो दानमार्जवमहिंसा सत्यवचनमिति ता अस्य दक्षिणाः ।

15. Words that cause no hurt, that are true, loving and helpful, and spiritual study constitute austerity of speech.

मनःप्रसादः सौम्यत्वं मौनमात्मविनिग्रहः ।

भावसंशुद्धिरित्येतत् तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥ १६ ॥

16. Serenity, benignity, silence, self-restraint, and purity of the spirit—these constitute austerity of the mind.

[Regarding silence see note on XII. 19. Also Gandhiji: "Silence is essential for one whose life is an incessant search for truth. Silence also helps one to suppress one's anger as perhaps nothing else does. How is one to give vent to one's wrath if one is silent? Not by eyes. Surely not by physical violence, when one is pledged to non-violence. Not by writing, for the wrath would disappear in the very process of writing." Mechanically it is a kind of self-restraint. True self-restraint is the fruit of silence consciously pursued. "Purity of the spirit which is the only true fruit of the soul and without which all external activity is vain," says a Western mystic.]

श्रद्धया परया तप्तं तपस्तत् त्रिविधं नरैः ।

अफलाकांक्षिभिर्युक्तैः सार्विकं परिचक्षते ॥ १७ ॥

17. This three-fold austerity practised in perfect faith by men not desirous of fruit, and disciplined, is said to be *sattvika*.

सत्कारमानपूजार्थं तपो दंभेन चैव यत् ।

क्रियते तदिह प्रोक्तं राजसं चलमध्रुवम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. Austerity which is practised with an eye to gain praise, honour and homage, and for ostentation is said to be *rajasa*; it is fleeting and unstable.

मूढग्राहेणात्मनो यत् पीडया क्रियते तपः ।
परस्योत्सादनार्थं वा तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ १९ ॥

19. Austerity which is practised from any foolish obsession, either to torture oneself or to procure another's ruin, is called *tamasa*.

दातव्यमिति यद् दानं दीयतेऽनुपकारिणे ।
देशे काले च पात्रे च तद् दानं सात्त्विकं स्मृतम् ॥ २० ॥

20. Charity, given as a matter of duty, without expectation of any return, at the right place and time, and to the right person is said to be *sattvika*.

यत् तु प्रत्युपकारार्थं फलमुद्दिश्य वा पुनः ।
दीयते च परिक्लिष्टं तद् दानं राजसं स्मृतम् ॥ २१ ॥

21. Charity, which is given either in the hope of receiving in return, or with a view to winning merit, or grudgingly, is declared to be *rajasa*.

अदेशकाले यद् दानम् अपात्रेभ्यश्च दीयते ।
असत्कृतमवज्ञातं तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ २२ ॥

22. Charity given at the wrong place and time, and to the undeserving recipient, disrespectfully and with contempt is declared to be *tamasa*.

ॐ तत् सदिति निर्देशो ब्रह्मणस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः ।
ब्राह्मणास्तेन वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च विहिताः पुरा ॥ २३ ॥

23. AUM TAT SAT has been declared to be the threefold name of *Brahman* and by that name were created of old the *Brahmanas*, the Vedas and sacrifices.

तस्मादोमित्युदाहृत्य यज्ञदानतपःक्रियाः ॥

प्रवर्तन्ते विधानोक्ताः सततं ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ॥ २४ ॥

24. Therefore, with AUM ever on their lips, are all the rites of sacrifice, charity and austerity, performed always according to the rule, by *Brahmavadins*.

तदित्यनभिसंधाय फलं यज्ञतपःक्रियाः ।

दानक्रियाश्च विविधाः क्रियन्ते मोक्षकांक्षिभिः ॥ २५ ॥

25. With the utterance of TAT and without the desire for fruit are the several rites of sacrifice, austerity and charity performed by those seeking Freedom.

सद्भावे साधुभावे च सदित्येतत् प्रयुज्यते ।

प्रशस्ते कर्मणि तथा सच्छब्दः पार्थ युज्यते ॥ २६ ॥

26. SAT is employed in the sense of 'real' and 'good'; O Partha, SAT is also applied to beautiful deeds.

यज्ञे तपसि दाने च स्थितिः सदिति चोच्यते ।

कर्म चैव तदर्थीयं सदित्येवाभिधीयते ॥ २७ ॥

27. Constancy in sacrifice, austerity and charity, is called SAT; and all work for these purposes is also SAT.

The substance of the last four *shlokas* is that every action should be done in a spirit of complete dedication to God. For AUM alone is the only Reality. That only which is dedicated to It counts.

[24-27: For AUM see note on VIII. 11-13. The *Brahmavadin* in *shl.* 24 and 'those seeking Freedom' in *shl.* 25 are the same, and both terms are used for the

worshipper who uses the triple designation of *Brahman* and dedicates all his worship, charity and austerity to the Supreme. *Shlokas* 25-27 declare the virtue of each of the designations, but the whole is one composite formula of dedication to God. AUM is an expression of the Being subsisting everywhere in all times; TAT expresses the Supreme in its detachment; and SAT expresses Truth and Goodness and Beauty. The worshipper, by doing everything to the glory of this Triple Name, pledges himself to constancy, detachment, truth, beauty, and goodness.]

अश्रद्धया हुतं दत्तं तपस्तप्तं कृतं च यत् ।

असदित्युच्यते पार्थ न च तत् प्रेत्य नो इह ॥ २८ ॥

28. Whatever is done, O Partha, by way of sacrifice, charity or austerity or any other work, is called *Asat* if done without faith. It counts for naught hereafter as here.

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
श्रद्धात्रयविभागयोगो नाम सप्तदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १७ ॥

Thus ends the seventeenth discourse, entitled 'Shraddhatrayavibhaga Yoga' in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of Yoga as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the Bhagawadgita.

DISCOURSE XVIII

This concluding discourse sums up the teaching of the Gita. It may be said to be summed up in the following: "Abandon all duties and come to Me, the only Refuge" (66). That is true renunciation. But abandonment of all duties does not mean abandonment of actions; it means the abandonment of the desire for fruit. Even the highest act of service must be dedicated to Him, without the desire. That is *Tyaga* (abandonment), that is *Sannyasa* (renunciation).

अर्जुन उवाच ।

संन्यासस्य महाबाहो तत्त्वमिच्छामि वेदितुम् ।
त्यागस्य च हृषीकेश पृथक् केशिनिषूदन ॥ १ ॥

Arjuna said :

1. Mahabahu ! I would fain learn severally the secret of *sannyasa* and of *tyaga*, O Hrishikesha, O Keshinishudana.

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

काम्यानां कर्मणां न्यासं संन्यासं कवयो विदुः ।
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं प्राहुस्त्यागं विचक्षणाः ॥ २ ॥

The Lord said :

2. Renunciation of actions springing from selfish desire is known as *sannyasa* by the seers; abandonment of the fruit of all action is called *tyaga* by the wise.

[The reference here is to the doctrine which must have been prevalent at the time and which we find

defined in *Manusmriti* thus:* “No action is here seen to be done by one who is without desire; the spring of whatever action one does is desire.” Hence the extreme position of the school of *sannyasa* that all action should be abandoned. As against this, the position taken by the *Gita* is that it is not desire that vitiates the act, but selfish desire, i. e. the desire for fruit, and all actions from which the desire for fruit is withdrawn cease to be binding. The abandonment of the desire for fruit is both *sannyasa* and *tyaga*, both having the etymology meaning ‘giving up’. The *tyaga* or *sannyasa*, whatever one may call it, must of course be *sattvika*, as the author will presently tell us.]

त्याज्यं दोषवदित्येके कर्म प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ।
यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यमिति चापरे ॥ ३ ॥

3. Some thoughtful persons say: ‘All action should be abandoned as an evil’; others say: ‘Action for sacrifice, charity and austerity should not be relinquished’.

निश्चयं शृणु मे तत्र त्यागे भरतसत्तम ।
त्यागे हि पुरुषव्याघ्र त्रिविधः संग्रहीतः ॥ ४ ॥

4. Hear my decision in this matter of *tyaga*, O *Bharatasattama*; for *tyaga*, too, O mightiest of men, has been described to be of three kinds.

[Three kinds: described in *shls.* 7-9.]

यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥ ५ ॥

5. Action for sacrifice, charity and austerity may not be abandoned; it must needs be performed.

* अकामस्य क्रिया काचित् दृश्यते नेह कर्हिचित् ।
यद्यद्वि कुरुते किञ्चित् तत् कामस्य चेष्टितम् ॥ २-४ ॥

Sacrifice, charity and austerity are purifiers of the wise.

[Bhide Sastri who goes one better than Tilak in reading *Karmayoga* in every *shloka* of the Gita translates the second half of this *shloka* in a remarkable way: "Sacrifice, charity and austerity performed by the wise are purifying (for the world)" and adds in a note that the wise — the men of Self-realization — are already purified, they have no purification to achieve, theirs is the duty of purifying the world, and so even after obtaining *jnana*, they must perform sacrifice, charity, austerity for the guidance of the world (III. 20). The meaning is certainly possible. Let it be however noted that the whole thing ultimately turns on the meaning one gives to *manishinam* (मनीषिणाम्), translated here, 'of the wise'. Shankaracharya translates: 'Men who have no desire for fruit'. But the point is, even if one were to mean by *manishin* a *jnandin*, why should not sacrifice, charity etc. not purify him, and therefore necessarily every one else? Can any one maintain spiritual equipoise all the moments he breathes in the flesh? Only those who know can say!]

एतान्यपि तु कर्माणि संगं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च ।
कर्तव्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमम् ॥ ६ ॥

6. But even these actions should be performed abandoning all attachment and fruit; such, O Partha, is my best and considered opinion.

नियतस्य तु संन्यासः कर्मणो नोपपद्यते ।
मोहात् तस्य परित्यागस् तामसः परिकीर्तितः ॥ ७ ॥

7. It is not right to renounce one's allotted task; its abandonment, from delusion, is said to be *tamasa*.

दुःखमित्येव यत् कर्म कायक्लेशभयात् त्यजेत् ।
स कृत्वा राजसं त्यागं नैव त्यागफलं लभेत् ॥ ८ ॥

8. He who abandons action, deeming it painful and for fear of straining his limbs, he will never gain the fruit of abandonment, for his abandonment is *rajasa*.

कार्यमित्येव यत् कर्म नियतं क्रियतेऽर्जुन ।

संगं त्यक्त्वा फलं चैव स त्यागः सात्त्विको मतः ॥ ९ ॥

9. But an allotted task, performed from a sense of duty and with abandonment of attachment and fruit, O Arjuna, that abandonment is deemed to be *sattvika*.

न द्वेष्ट्यकुशलं कर्म कुशले नानुषज्जते ।

त्यागी सत्त्वसमाविष्टो मेधावी छिन्नसंशयः ॥ १० ॥

10. Neither does he disdain unpleasant action, nor does he cling to pleasant action—this wise man full of *sattva*, who practises abandonment, and who has shaken off all doubts.

न हि देहभृता शक्यं त्यक्तुं कर्माण्यशेषतः ।

यस्तु कर्मफलत्यागी स त्यागीत्यभिधीयते ॥ ११ ॥

11. For the embodied one cannot completely abandon action; but he who abandons the fruit of action is named a *tyagi*.

अनिष्टमिष्टं मिश्रं च त्रिविधं कर्मणः फलम् ।

भवत्यत्यागिनां प्रेत्य न तु संन्यासिनां क्वचित् ॥ १२ ॥

12. To those who do not practise abandonment accrues, when they pass away, the fruit of action which is of three kinds: disagreeable, agreeable, mixed; but never to the *sannyasins*.

[11-12: *Tyagi* (abandoner) and *sannyasi* (renouncer) are really one, as the *sannyasi* and *yogi* were shown to be one in the fifth discourse.]

पंचैतानि महाबाहो कारणानि निबोध मे ।

सांख्ये कृतान्ते प्रोक्तानि सिद्धये सर्वकर्मणाम् ॥ १३ ॥

13. Learn, from me, O Mahabahu, the five factors mentioned in the *Samkhyan* doctrine for the accomplishment of all action:

[‘*Samkhyan* doctrine’: Whether this means the doctrine of the system known as *Samkhya* (as many take it), or the Vedanta doctrine (as Shankaracharya takes it), or both (as Jnaneshvara takes it) is difficult to say. The five factors as such are nowhere to be found in any known work of *Samkhya* philosophy. Keith mentions *Ahirbudhnya Samhita* where the *Samkhya* system is described as a *Tantra* with several divisions—which include all the *Samkhyan* principles and other conceptions among which we find *karta* (doer) and *daiva* (unseen or fate), mentioned in *shl.* 14. Hill goes to the length of making an attempt to make the fivefold list correspond to the usual twenty-fourfold *Samkhyan* division thus: (1) *adhishthana* field, is the unmanifest *prakriti*; (2) *karta* (author) includes *buddhi* and *ahankara*; (3) *karanas* are the mind and the five organs of perception; (4) *cheshtas* are the five organs of action; (5) *daiva* meaning the realm of the five gross and five subtle elements presided over by their gods. This is certainly a bold and ingenious if far-fetched attempt. How far it is justified, only the author of the Gita can say! The word *Samkhya* to mean the *Samkhyan* system would, then, be taken to have been used for the first and the last time here in the Gita. The use of *Samkhya* in the sense of knowledge, however, is much more common, and perhaps the least dogmatic interpretation would be to take the phrase to mean ‘any doctrine of knowledge’—whether Vedantic or *Samkhya*.]

अधिष्ठानं तथा कर्ता करणं च पृथग्विधम् ।

चिविधाश्च पृथक्चेष्टा दैवं चैवान्न पंचमम् ॥ १४ ॥

14. The field, the doer, the various means, the several different operations, the fifth and the last the Unseen.

शरीरवाङ्मनोभिर्यत् कर्म प्रारभते नरः ।
न्याय्यं वा विपरीतं वा पंचैते तस्य हेतवः ॥ १५ ॥

15. Whatever action, right or wrong, a man undertakes to do with the body, speech or mind, these are the five factors thereof.

तत्रैवं सति कर्तारम् आत्मानं केवलं तु यः ।
पश्यत्यकृतबुद्धित्वात् न स पश्यति दुर्मतिः ॥ १६ ॥

16. This being so, he who, by reason of unenlightened intellect, sees the unconditioned *Atman* as the agent—such a man is dense and unseeing.

यस्य नाहंकृतो भावो बुद्धिर्यस्य न लिप्यते ।
हत्वाऽपि स इमान् लोकान् न हन्ति न निबद्ध्यते ॥ १७ ॥

17. He who is free from all sense of 'I', whose motive is untainted, slays not nor is bound, even though he slay all these worlds.

This *shloka* though seemingly somewhat baffling is not really so. The Gita on many occasions presents the ideal to attain which the aspirant has to strive but which may not be possible completely to realize in the world. It is like definitions in geometry. A perfect straight line does not exist, but it is necessary to imagine it in order to prove the various propositions. Even so, it is necessary to hold up ideals of this nature as standards for imitation in matters of conduct. This then would seem to be the meaning of this *shloka*: He who has made ashes of 'self', whose motive is untainted, may slay the

whole world, if he will. But in reality he who has annihilated 'self' has annihilated his flesh too, and he whose motive is untainted sees the past, present and future. Such a being can be one and only one—God. He acts and yet is no doer, slays and yet is no slayer. For mortal man the royal road—the conduct of the worthy—is ever before him, viz. *ahimsa*—holding all life sacred.

[“If we believe in Krishna to be God”, said Gandhiji in reply to a question asked him, with regard to this text, “we must impute to Him omniscience and omnipotence. Such an one can surely destroy. But we are puny mortals ever erring and ever revising our views and opinions. We may not, without coming to grief, ape Krishna, the inspirer of the Gita.” (*Young India*, 30th April, 1925). Also, on another occasion he said: “Truth excludes the use of violence, because man is not capable of knowing the Absolute Truth and therefore not competent to punish”. God alone is competent.]

ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं परिज्ञाता त्रिविधा कर्मचोदना ।

करणं कर्म कर्तेति त्रिविधः कर्मसंग्रहः ॥ १८ ॥

18. Knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the knower compose the threefold urge to action; the means, the action and the doer compose the threefold sum of action.

ज्ञानं कर्म च कर्ता च त्रिधैव गुणभेदतः ।

प्रोच्यते गुणसंख्याने यथावच्छृणु तान्यपि ॥ १९ ॥

19. Knowledge, action, and the doer are of three kinds according to their different *gunas*; hear thou these, just as they have been described in the science of the *gunas*.

सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।

अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि सात्त्विकम् ॥ २० ॥

20. Know that knowledge whereby one sees in all beings immutable entity—a unity in diversity—to be *sattvika*.

पृथक्त्वेन तु यज्ज्ञानं नानाभावान् पृथग्विधान् ।
वेत्ति सर्वेषु भूतेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि राजसम् ॥ २१ ॥

21. That knowledge which perceives separately in all beings several entities of diverse kinds, know thou to be *rajasa*.

यत् तु कृत्स्नवदेकस्मिन् कार्ये सक्तमहैतुकम् ।
अतत्त्वार्थवदल्पं च तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ २२ ॥

22. And knowledge which, without reason, clings to one single thing, as though it were everything, which misses the true essence and is superficial is *tamasa*.

[20-22: *Shl.* 20 repeats the thought of XIII. 30. The three *shlokas* deal with the three kinds of knowledge or apprehension that respectively harmonize, differentiate and exclude or confuse. Thus in philosophy, *sattvika* knowledge perceives the Unity of Self in diverse existences, the *rajasa* emphasizes the difference in them, and the *tamasa* refuses to see anything beyond the material existence of objects. The idea may be extended to all subjects. In religion, for instance, a man of *sattvika* vision will see one God and one spiritual truth in all religions and will have thus the same regard for all; the man of *rajasa* vision will emphasize differences and claim superiority for his own form of religion; and the man of *tamasa* vision will claim an exclusive revelation for his religion, regard all others as false, declare those not belonging to his fold as doomed to damnation, and will even wage a war to bring them to his fold. In brief, *sattva* will always find out points of contact or unity in seemingly different things, *rajas* will emphasize differences, *tamas* will cloud and warp the vision.

Herbert Spencer's division of knowledge is a close parallel. See 'My Submission', p. 31.]

नियतं संगरहितम् अरागद्वेषतः कृतम् ।

अफलप्रेप्सुना कर्म यत् तत् सात्त्विकमुच्यते ॥ २३ ॥

23. That action is called *sattvika* which, being one's allotted task, is performed without attachment, without like or dislike, and without a desire for fruit.

यत् तु कामेप्सुना कर्म साहंकारेण वा पुनः ।

क्रियते बहुलायासं तद् राजसमुदाहृतम् ॥ २४ ॥

24. That action which is prompted by the desire for fruit, or by the thought of 'I', and which involves much dissipation of energy is called *rajasa*.

अनुबंधं क्षयं हिंसाम् अनपेक्ष्य च पौरुषम् ।

मोहादारभ्यते कर्म यत् तत् तामसमुच्यते ॥ २५ ॥

25. That action which is blindly undertaken without any regard to capacity and consequences, involving loss and hurt, is called *tamasa*.

मुक्तसंगोऽनहंवादी दृत्युत्साहसमन्वितः ।

सिद्धयसिद्धयोर्निर्विकारः कर्ता सात्त्विक उच्यते ॥ २६ ॥

26. That doer is called *sattvika* who has shed all attachment, all thought of 'I', who is filled with firmness and zeal, and who reckes neither success nor failure.

रागी कर्मफलप्रेप्सुर् लुब्धो हिंसात्मकोऽशुचिः ।

हर्षशोकान्वितः कर्ता राजसः परिकीर्तितः ॥ २७ ॥

27. That doer is said to be *rajasa* who is passionate, desirous of the fruit of action, greedy, violent, unclean, and moved by joy and sorrow.

अयुक्तः प्राकृतः स्तब्धः शठो नैष्कृतिकोऽलसः ।

विषादी दीर्घसूत्री च कर्ता तामस उच्यते ॥ २८ ॥

28. That doer is called *tamasa* who is indisciplined, vulgar, stubborn, knavish, spiteful, indolent, woebegone, and dilatory.

बुद्धेर्भेदं घृतेश्चैव गुणतस्त्रिविधं शृणु ।

प्रोच्यमानमशेषेण पृथक्त्वेन धनंजय ॥ २९ ॥

29. Hear now, O Dhananjaya, detailed fully and severally, the threefold division of understanding and will, according to their *gunas*.

प्रवृत्तिं च निवृत्तिं च कार्याकार्ये भयाभये ।

बंधं मोक्षं च या वेत्ति बुद्धिः सा पार्थ सात्त्विकी ॥ ३० ॥

30. That understanding, O Partha, is *sattvika* which knows action from inaction, what ought to be done from what ought not to be done, fear from fearlessness and bondage from release.

यया धर्ममधर्मं च कार्यं चाकार्यमेव च ।

अयथावत् प्रजानाति बुद्धिः सा पार्थ राजसी ॥ ३१ ॥

31. That understanding, O Partha, is *rajasa* which decides erroneously between right and wrong, between what ought to be done and what ought not to be done.

अधर्मं धर्ममिति या मन्यते तमसाऽवृता ।

सर्वार्थान् विपरीतांश्च बुद्धिः सा पार्थ तामसी ॥ ३२ ॥

32. That understanding, O Partha, is *tamasa*, which, shrouded in darkness, thinks wrong to be right and mistakes everything for its reverse.

[Cf. Is. 5.20: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil. that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter."]

धृत्या यया धारयते मनःप्राणेन्द्रियक्रियाः ।

योगेनाऽव्यभिचारिण्या दृतिः सा पार्थ सात्त्विकी ॥ ३३ ॥

33. That will, O Partha, is *sattvika* which maintains an unbroken harmony between the activities of the mind, the vital energies and the senses.

[Cf. Durant on Plato's attitude to Justice (a term, by the way, very much akin to *yoga*) : "And in individual justice is effective coordination, the harmonious functioning of the elements in a man, each in its fit place and each making its cooperative contribution to behaviour." The activities prompted by a *sattvika* will, will be all bent to the attainment of *moksha*—Freedom—as will be clear from the next *shloka*.]

यया तु धर्मकामार्थान् धृत्या धारयतेऽर्जुन ।

प्रसंगेन फलाकांक्षी दृतिः सा पार्थ राजसी ॥ ३४ ॥

34. That will, O Partha, is *rajasa* which clings, with attachment, to righteousness, desire and wealth, desirous of fruit in each case.

[The reference is to the four ends to be pursued by man. The *rajasa* will actuate man to the pursuit of *dharma* (righteousness or righteous works), *artha* (wealth), *kama* (desire for progeny etc.), to the exclusion of the fourth, viz. *moksha* (Freedom) which ought to be made the prime end.]

यया स्वप्नं भयं शोकं विषादं मदमेव च ।

न विमुंचति दुर्मेधा दृतिः सा पार्थ तामसी ॥ ३५ ॥

35. That will, O Partha, is *tamasa*, whereby insensate man does not abandon sleep, fear, grief, despair and self-conceit.

सुखं त्विदानीं त्रिविधं शृणु मे भरतर्षभ ।

अभ्यासाद् रमते यत्र दुखान्तं च निगच्छति ॥ ३६ ॥

36. Hear now from Me, O Bharatarshabha, the three kinds of pleasure.

Pleasure which is enjoyed only by repeated practice, and which puts an end to pain,

यत् तदग्रे विषमिव परिणामेऽमृतोपमम् ।

तत् सुखं सात्त्विकं प्रोक्तम् आत्मबुद्धिप्रसादजम् ॥ ३७ ॥

37. Which, in its inception, is as poison, but in the end as nectar, born of the serene realization of the true nature of *Atman* — that pleasure is said to be *sattvika*.

[36-37: The price of this pleasure is initial effort, striving, tribulation, and so apparent pain, in a word *tapasya*. Cf. Heb. 12. 11: "Now no chastening for the present seems to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby." Spinoza talks of the happiness of philosophy — *jnana* — in the same strain as *shl.* 36: "But the love towards a thing eternal and infinite alone feeds the mind with a pleasure secure from all pain. . . . The greatest good is the knowledge of the union which the mind has with the whole of Nature."]

विषयेन्द्रियसंयोगाद् यत् तदग्रेऽमृतोपमम् ।

परिणामे विषमिव तत् सुखं राजसं स्मृतम् ॥ ३८ ॥

38. That pleasure is called *rajasa* which, arising from the contact of the senses with their objects, is at first as nectar but in the end like poison.

[Cf. Imitation of Christ: "So all carnal joys enter pleasantly; but at the end bring remorse and death."]

यदग्रे चानुबन्धे च सुखं मोहनमात्मनः ।

निद्रालस्यप्रमादोत्थं तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ ३९ ॥

39. That pleasure is called *tamasa* which arising from sleep and sloth and heedlessness, stupefies the soul both at first and in the end.

न तदस्ति पृथिव्यां वा दिवि देवेषु वा पुनः ।
सत्त्वं प्रकृतिजैर्मुक्तं यदेभिः स्यात् त्रिभिर्गुणैः ॥ ४० ॥

40. There is no being, either on earth or in heaven among the gods, that can be free from these three *gunas* born of *prakriti*.

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥ ४१ ॥

41. The duties of *Brahmanas*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* and *Shudras*, are distributed according to their innate qualifications, O Parantapa.

शमो दमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ ४२ ॥

42. Serenity, self-restraint, austerity, purity, forgiveness, uprightness, knowledge and discriminative knowledge, faith in God are the *Brahmana's* natural duties.

शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दाक्ष्यं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।
दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रं कर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ ४३ ॥

43. Valour, spiritedness, constancy, resourcefulness, not fleeing from battle, generosity, and the capacity to rule are the natural duties of a *Kshatriya*.

कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् ।
परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् ॥ ४४ ॥

44. Tilling the soil, protection of the cow and commerce are the natural functions of a *Vaishya*, while service is the natural duty of a *Shudra*.

[41-44: See my note on 'Varna' in 'My Submission pp.98-102. "A true *Brahmana* should be the very image of humility, and not be proud of his knowledge or wisdom. He will cease to be a *Brahmana* if he considers himself superior to others, as it is his duty to teach people to look upon a *Brahmana* and a *Bhangi* : (scavenger) with an equal eye. Again a *Brahmana* is hardly worth the name, if he does not have the courage of his own conviction." (*Harijan*, May 18, 1934.)

Cf. with this. Aristotle's *Kshatriya* and *Shudra*: "For he who can foresee with his mind is by nature intended to be lord and master; and he who can work only with his body is by nature a slave." But not so thinks Gandhiji: "To say that *Brahmana* should not touch the plough is a parody of *Varnashrma dharma* and a prostitution of the meaning of the *Bhagawadgita*. Surely the qualities predominantly ascribed to the different divisions are not denied to the others. Is bravery to be the prerogative only of the *Kshatriya* and restraint only of the *Brahmana*? Are *Brahmanas*, *Kshatriyas* and *Shudras* not to protect the cow? Can any one remain a Hindu without readiness to die for a cow?" (Gandhiji in *Young India*, 22-1-'25.)]

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।

स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥ ४५ ॥

45. Each man, by complete absorption in the performance of his duty, wins perfection. Hear now how he wins such perfection by devotion to that duty.

यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।

स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥ ४६ ॥

46. By offering the worship of his duty to Him who is the moving spirit of all beings, and by whom all this is pervaded, man wins perfection.

[*Laborare est orare.* Cf. Carlyle, with whom "all true work is religion", and true work was contained in the commandment: "Know what thou canst work; and work at it, like a Hercules". Cf. also Spinoza with whom all virtue, i. e. action performed without expectation of reward, was "the serving of God."]

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥ ४७ ॥

47. Better one's own duty, though uninviting, than another's which may be more easily performed; doing duty which accords with one's nature, one incurs no sin.

The central teaching of the Gita is detachment—abandonment of the fruit of action. And there would be no room for this abandonment if one were to prefer another's duty to one's own. Therefore one's own duty is said to be better than another's. It is the spirit in which duty is done that matters, and its unattached performance is its own reward.

[Cf. Marcus Aurelius: "Be not ashamed of any action which is in accordance with nature and never be misled by fear of censure or reproach."]

सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।
सर्वारंभा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवावृताः ॥ ४८ ॥

48. One should not abandon, O Kaunteya, that duty to which one is born, imperfect though it be; for all action, in its inception, is enveloped in imperfection, as fire in smoke.

[Man's birth and possession of this body here below are due to binding actions in the past, and so anything done by means of that duty is imperfect in its inception.]

असक्तबुद्धिः सर्वत्र जितात्मा विगतस्पृहः ।

नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिं परमां संन्यासेनाधिगच्छति ॥ ४९ ॥

49 He who has weaned himself from attachments of all kinds, who is master of himself, who is dead to desire, attains through renunciation the supreme perfection of freedom from action.

सिद्धिं प्राप्तो यथा ब्रह्म तथाऽप्नोति निबोध मे ।

समासेनैव कौन्तेय निष्ठा ज्ञानस्य या परा ॥ ५० ॥

50. Learn now from Me, in brief, O Kaunteya, how he who has gained this perfection, attains to *Brahman*, the supreme consummation of knowledge.

बुद्ध्या विशुद्ध्या युक्तो धृत्याऽत्मानं नियम्य च ।

शब्दादीन् विषयास्त्यक्त्वा रागद्वेषौ व्युदस्य च ॥ ५१ ॥

51. Equipped with purified understanding, restraining the self with firm will, abandoning sound and other objects of the senses, putting aside likes and dislikes,

विविक्तसेवी लघ्वाशी यतवाक्कायमानसः ।

ध्यानयोगपरो नित्यं वैराग्यं समुपाश्रितः ॥ ५२ ॥

52. Living in solitude, spare in diet, restrained in speech, body and mind, ever absorbed in *dhyanayoga*, anchored in dispassion,

अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं परिग्रहम् ।

विमुच्य निर्ममः शान्तो ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ ५३ ॥

53. Without pride, violence, arrogance, lust, wrath, possession, having shed all sense of 'mine' and at peace with himself, he is fit to become one with *Brahman*.

ब्रह्मभूतः प्रसन्नात्मा न शोचति न कांक्षति ।

समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु मङ्गलित्वा लभते पराम् ॥ ५४ ॥

54. One with *Brahman* and at peace with himself, he grieves not, nor desires; holding all beings alike, he achieves supreme devotion to Me.

भक्त्या मामभिजानाति यावान् यश्चास्मि तत्त्वतः ।

ततो मां तत्त्वतो ज्ञात्वा विशते तदनंतरम् ॥ ५५ ॥

55. By devotion he realizes in truth how great I am, who I am; and having known Me in reality he enters into Me.

सर्वकर्माण्यपि सदा कुर्वाणो मद्ब्यपाश्रयः ।

मत्प्रसादादवाप्नोति शाश्वतं पदमव्ययम् ॥ ५६ ॥

56. Even whilst always performing actions, he who makes me his refuge wins, by My grace, the eternal and imperishable haven.

चेतसा सर्वकर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्परः ।

बुद्धियोगमुपाश्रित्य मच्चित्तः सततं भव ॥ ५७ ॥

57. Casting, with thy mind, all actions on Me, make Me thy goal, and resorting to the *yoga* of even-mindedness fix thy thought ever on Me.

मच्चित्तः सर्वदुर्गाणि मत्प्रसादात् तरिष्यसि ।

अथ चेत् त्वमहंकारात् न श्रोष्यसि विनंक्ष्यसि ॥ ५८ ॥

58. Fixing thus thy thought on Me, thou shalt surmount all obstacles by My grace; but

if possessed by the sense of 'I' thou listen not.
thou shalt perish.

यदहंकारमाश्रित्य न योत्स्य इति मन्यसे ।

मिथ्यैष व्यवसायस्ते प्रकृतिस्त्वां नियोक्ष्यति ॥ ५९ ॥

59. If obsessed by the sense of 'I', thou thinkest, 'I will not fight', vain is thy obsession; (thy) nature will compel thee.

स्वभावजेन कौन्तेय निबद्धः स्वेन कर्मणा ।

कर्तुं नेच्छसि यन्मोहात् करिष्यस्यवशोऽपि तत् ॥ ६० ॥

60. What thou wilt not do, O Kaunteya, because of thy delusion, thou shalt do, even against thy will, bound as thou art by the duty to which thou art born.

[Krishna knows Arjuna through and through, and so suggests that whilst it was certain that he was not going to escape the action to which his nature would drive him, and thus be subjected to bondage, it was open to him, and it would be better for him, to do the same thing at His bidding, without attachment and in a spirit of dedication, and thus incur no bondage.]

ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति ।

भ्रामयन् सर्वभूतानि यंत्रारूढानि मायया ॥ ६१ ॥

61. God, O Arjuna, dwells in the heart of every being and by His delusive mystery whirls them all, (as though) set on a machine.

[Plotinus brings out the same idea in a beautiful simile which sheds a flood of explanation on this important *shloka*: "We perpetually revolve round God the Principle of all things, but we do not always behold it. A band of singers moving about its leader may be diverted to the survey of some thing foreign to the choir, but when it turns itself to him, it sings well and truly

subsists to him; thus also we perpetually revolve about the Principle of all things, even when we are loosened from it and we have no knowledge of it; but when we behold it we are no longer discordant, but form a divine dance about it." When we are "loosened" from Him, we dance to the tune of *prakriti*, when we behold Him we make *prakriti* dance to our tune, i. e. to His tune.]

तमेव शरणं गच्छं सर्वभावेन भारत ।

तत्प्रसादात् परां शान्तिं स्थानं प्राप्स्यसि शाश्वतम् ॥ ६२ ॥

62. In Him alone seek thy refuge with all thy heart, O Bharata. By His grace shalt thou win to the eternal haven of supreme peace.

[Cf. the famous Biblical text: "Come unto Me and I will give you rest", which St. Augustine thus paraphrases: "Stand by Him, and ye shall stand fast. Rest in Him and ye shall be at rest."]

इति ते ज्ञानमाख्यातं गुह्याद् गुह्यतरं मया ।

विमृश्यैतदशेषेण यथेच्छसि तथा कुरु ॥ ६३ ॥

63. Thus have I expounded to thee the most mysterious of all knowledge; ponder over it fully, then act as thou wilt.

सर्वगुह्यतमं भूयः शृणु मे परमं वचः ।

इष्टोऽसि मे दृढमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम् ॥ ६४ ॥

64. Hear again My supreme word, the most mysterious of all; dearly beloved thou art of Me, hence I desire to declare thy welfare.

मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।

मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥ ६५ ॥

65. On Me fix thy mind, to Me bring thy devotion, to Me offer thy sacrifice, to Me make

thy obeisance; to Me indeed shalt thou come — solemn is My promise to thee, thou art dear to me.

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥ ६६ ॥

66. Abandon all duties and come to Me the only refuge. I will release thee from all sins; grieve not!

[Cf. Koran: "But whosoever surrender his purpose to Allah while doing good his reward is with his Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they grieve". (2. 112; 10. 63). Also Is. 1. 25: "And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy sin". Also: "Call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee."]

इदं ते नातपस्काय नाभक्ताय कदाचन ।

न चाशुश्रूषवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽभ्यसूयति ॥ ६७ ॥

67. Utter this never to him who knows no austerity, has no devotion, nor any desire to listen, nor yet to him who scoffs at Me.

य इदं परमं गुह्यं मद्भक्तेष्वभिधास्यति ।

भक्तिं मयि परां कृत्वा मामेवैष्यत्यसंशयः ॥ ६८ ॥

68. He who will propound this supreme mystery to My devotees, shall, by that act of highest devotion to Me, surely come to Me.

It is only he who has himself gained the knowledge and lived it in his life that can declare it to others. These two *shlokas* cannot possibly have any reference to him, who, no matter how he conducts himself, can give a flawless reading and interpretation of the Gita while conducting himself anyhow.

न च तस्मान्मनुष्येषु कश्चिन्मे प्रियकृत्तमः ।

भविता न च मे तस्माद् अन्यः प्रियतरो भुवि ॥ ६९ ॥

69. Nor among men is there any who renders dearer service to Me than he; nor shall there be on earth any more beloved by Me than he.

अध्येष्यते च य इमं धर्म्यं संवादमावयोः ।

ज्ञानयज्ञेन तेनाहम् इष्टः स्यामिति मे मतिः ॥ ७० ॥

70. And whoso shall study this sacred discourse of ours shall worship Me with the sacrifice of knowledge. That is my belief.

श्रद्धावाननसूयश्च शृणुयादपि यो नरः ।

सोऽपि मुक्तः शुभांल्लोकान् प्राप्नुयात् पुण्यकर्मणाम् ॥ ७१ ॥

71. And the man of faith who, scorning not, will but listen to it,—even he shall be released and will go to the happy worlds of men of virtuous deeds.

[Released: Released from sin (Shankaracharya)]

[70-71. "I would like the Gita reciters to realize that mere recitation is not an end in itself. It should be an aid to the contemplation and assimilation of the meaning and the message of the Gita. By patience even a parrot can be taught to recite it by heart. But he would be no wiser for the recitation. The reciter of the Gita should be what the author expects him to be—a *yogi* in its broad sense. It demands from its votaries balance in every thought, word and deed and a perfect correspondence between the three." (Gandhiji in *Harijan*. 2-2-'34)]

कच्चिदेतच्छृतं पार्थ त्वयैकाग्रेण चेतसा ।

कच्चिदज्ञानसंमोहः प्रनष्टस्ते धनंजय ॥ ७२ ॥

72. Hast thou heard this, O Partha, with a concentrated mind? Has thy delusion, born of ignorance, been destroyed, O Dhananjaya?

अर्जुन उवाच ।

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाऽच्युत ।
स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ॥ ७३ ॥

Arjuna said :

73. Thanks to Thy grace, O Achyuta, my delusion is destroyed, my understanding has returned. I stand secure, my doubts all dispelled; I will do Thy bidding.

संजय उवाच ।

इत्यहं वासुदेवस्य पार्थस्य च महात्मनः ।
संवादमिममश्रौषम् अद्भुतं रोमहर्षणम् ॥ ७४ ॥

Sanjaya said :

74. Thus did I hear this marvellous and thrilling discourse between Vasudeva and the great-souled Partha.

व्यासप्रसादाच्छ्रुतवान् एतद् गुह्यमहं परम् ।
योगं योगेश्वरात् कृष्णात् साक्षात् कथयतः स्वयम् ॥ ७५ ॥

75. It was by Vyasa's favour that I listened to this supreme and mysterious *Yoga* as expounded by the lips of the Master of *Yoga*, Krishna Himself.

राजन् संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य संवादमिममद्भुतम् ।
केशवार्जुनयोः पुण्यं हृष्यामि च मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ ७६ ॥

76. O King, as often as I recall that marvellous and purifying discourse between Keshava and Arjuna, I am filled with recurring rapture.

तच्च संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य रूपमत्यद्भुतं हरेः ।
विस्मयो मे महान् राजन् हृष्यामि च पुनः पुनः ॥ ७७ ॥

77. And as often as I recall that marvellous form of Hari, my wonder knows no bounds and I rejoice again and again.

[Cf. Dante

“ Thenceforward, what I saw
Was not for words to speak . . .

.
The Universal Form; for that whene'er
I do but speak of it, my soul dilates
Beyond her proper self.”

(Paradiso)]

यत्र योगेश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः ।
तत्र श्रीविजयो भूतिर् ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ॥ ७८ ॥

78. Wheresoever Krishna, the Master of *Yoga*, is, and wheresoever is Partha the Bowman, there rest assured are Fortune, Victory, Prosperity, and Eternal Right.

[In one of his speeches of lofty eloquence during the Dandi March in 1930 Gandhiji indentified Krishna with the righteousness of the end and Arjuna with the purity of the means, and said: “ I have faith in the righteousness of our cause and the purity of our weapons. Where the means are clean there God undoubtedly is present with His blessings and where the two combine there defeat is an impossibility.”]

॥ हरिः ॐ तत् सत् ॥

इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे
संन्यासयोगो नाम अष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥ १८ ॥

Thus ends the eighteenth discourse entitled ‘*Sannyasa Yoga*’ in the converse of Lord Krishna and Arjuna, on the science of *Yoga* as part of the knowledge of *Brahman* in the Upanishad called the *Bhagawadgita*.

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